

# AROUND THE COUNCIL FIRE

Ic  
973.43  
W69

IC  
973.43  
W69  
cop. 2

PUBLIC LIBRARY  
FORT WAYNE & ALLEN CO., IND.

M. L.

INDIANA COLLECTION

570

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 00553 3150



JAN 9 '46



# THE CHURCH

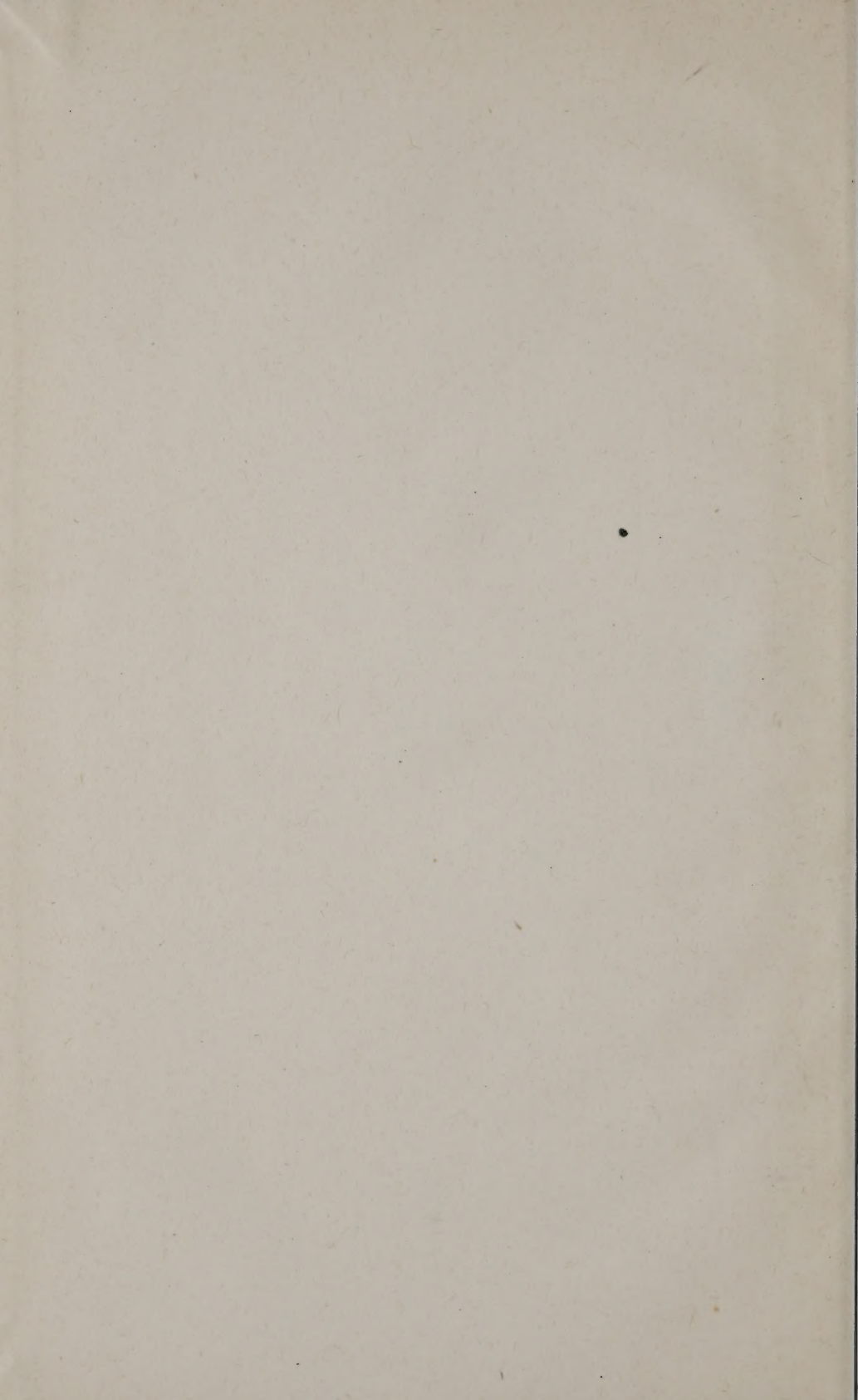
The Church is the body of Christ, the community of believers who are united by the Holy Spirit and the Word of God. It is the place where we gather to worship, to learn, and to serve one another.

The Church is the body of Christ, the community of believers who are united by the Holy Spirit and the Word of God. It is the place where we gather to worship, to learn, and to serve one another.

The Church is the body of Christ, the community of believers who are united by the Holy Spirit and the Word of God. It is the place where we gather to worship, to learn, and to serve one another.

The Church is the body of Christ, the community of believers who are united by the Holy Spirit and the Word of God. It is the place where we gather to worship, to learn, and to serve one another.

The Church is the body of Christ, the community of believers who are united by the Holy Spirit and the Word of God. It is the place where we gather to worship, to learn, and to serve one another.



# Around The Council Fire

---

Proceedings at Fort Greene Ville in 1795

Culminating in the Signing of the

TREATY OF GREENE VILLE

*By General Anthony Wayne and the Indian Chiefs  
Of the Old Northwest*

---

By FRAZER ELLS WILSON

*Author of The Peace of Mad Anthony, Bradley's Journal,  
Advancing the Ohio Frontier, Arthur St. Clair, etc.*

---

150th ANNIVERSARY EDITION

1795-1945

---

PUBLISHED BY FRAZER E. WILSON, GREENVILLE, OHIO

1945



THE PUBLIC LIBRARY  
OF  
EASTMAN AND OTHER COUNTRIES

COPYRIGHT, 1945, BY  
FRAZER ELLS WILSON

On changes, additions, and revisions for full length  
book version based on serial articles published in  
the Greenville (O.) Daily Advocate, June 17 to Aug.  
31, 1940.

Printed in the U.S.A.

BY STONEMAN PRESS, COLUMBUS, OHIO

## FOREWORD

THE story of the negotiations between Gen. Anthony Wayne and the chiefs and agents of the allied Indian tribes of the Old Northwest, makes one of the most colorful and fascinating tales of frontier life. After nearly half a century of bloody strife, in which the Redmen had struggled heroically to retain and defend their ancient homes and hunting grounds against the aggressive and determined white frontiersmen, they had finally suffered overwhelming defeat at the Rapids of the Maumee and were in a mood to negotiate a permanent peace.

The prolonged and desperate efforts of the British agents at Detroit to cultivate and retain their goodwill and cooperation and thus prevent the restless Americans from invading the sacred territory between the Great Lakes and the Ohio river, had finally come to naught, and their old friends, the French-Canadian traders, were urging them to listen to the reasonable peace proposals of their vigorous new American neighbors.

Many treaties had been held with the ambitious white people since they settled on the coasts of Massachusetts and Virginia and pushed relentlessly westward, and it was plain that the former vast, but sparsely settled, domains of the Redmen had gradually dwindled and their strength decreased as the years slipped by.

The records of these treaties are sparse and confusing, even the famous treaty of Penn with the Delawares at Shackamaxon depending largely on tradition and the highly imaginative, but impressive, painting by Benjamin West, showing the ceremonial negotiations under the spreading branches of a sturdy oak tree. Fortunately this is not true of the treaty negotiated by Wayne at Fort Greene Ville, in the summer of 1795, which is recorded in reliable government reports, and the stories of contemporary frontiersmen and pioneers. This treaty was extremely important because it opened up the vast and valuable lands of the Ohio country and removed the strongest barrier to the orderly expansion of the Anglo-Saxon builders of a new empire.

Besides the regular government records the author has examined numerous orders and papers issued during the peace negotiations; the orderly books of Wayne's campaign; his personal records; diaries of Chaplain David Jones and Rev. Morgan J. Rhees; Bradley's journal, etc. Additional information about the construction of Fort Greene Ville and life around the army camp, together with miscellaneous items and pertinent data have been secured from scattered sources during fifty years of casual study and investigation, and it is hoped that this narrative will prove more complete and readable than any that has yet appeared. Accordingly, it is believed that the reading of this revised narrative of one of the most important incidents in the frontier history of the Old Northwest will stimulate interest in and enthusiasm for the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of this event in the summer of 1795.

FRAZER E. WILSON.

## CONTENTS

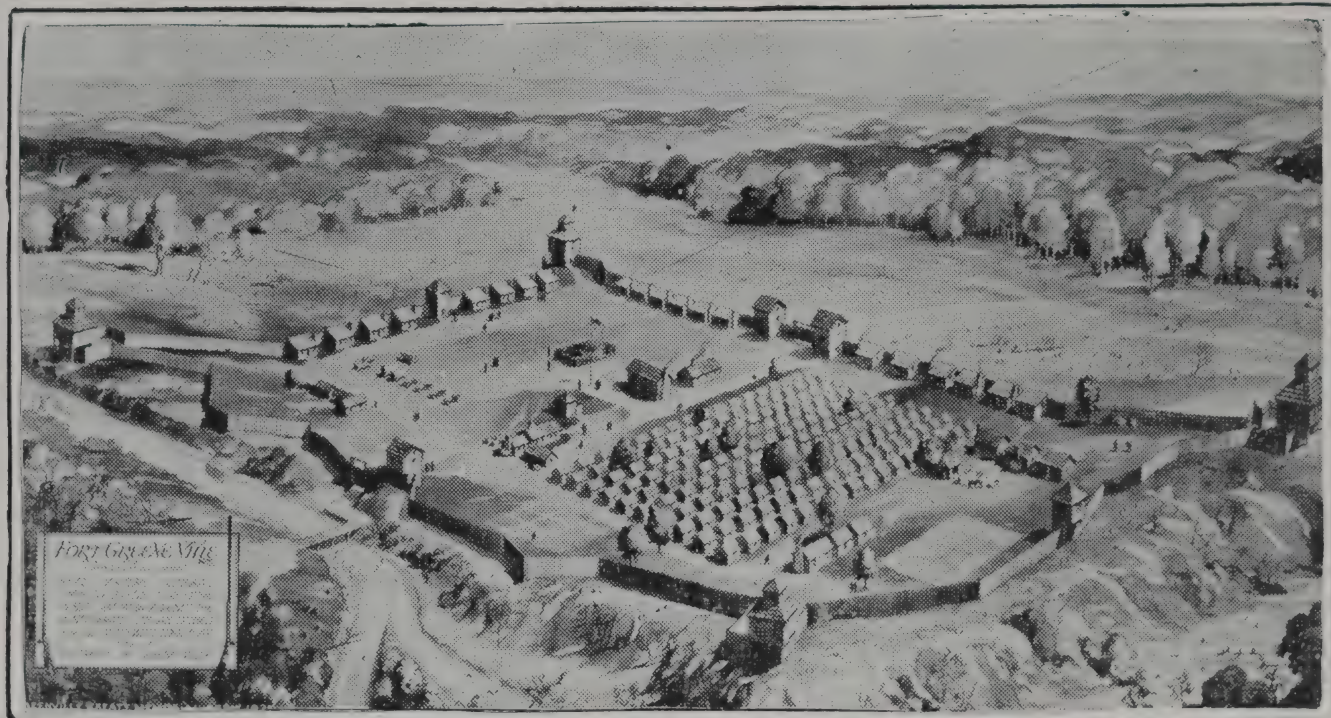
	PAGE
Foreword . . . . .	5
Chapter I—A Strategic Site . . . . .	11
Chapter II—Kindling The Council Fire . . . . .	30
Chapter III—Big Chiefs Speak . . . . .	41
Chapter IV—Wayne Explains Titles . . . . .	54
Chapter V—The Treaty is Signed . . . . .	65



## ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Fort Greene Ville—Frontispiece . . . . .	9
Arrangement of Camp Page . . . . .	14
Outline of Fort Greene Ville . . . . .	14
Original Plat of Greenville . . . . .	17
Treaty Pipe . . . . .	31
Chief Little Turtle . . . . .	47
An Animated Parley . . . . .	51
Treaty Medal . . . . .	67
Totem Signatures . . . . .	72
Official Signatures . . . . .	73





FORT GREENE VILLE (Courtesy Greene Ville Treaty Memorial Association)  
(An Approximate Restoration)





## Chapter I

### A STRATEGIC SITE

IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE that the site on which old Fort Greene Ville was located was chosen by military men who had served with General Washington throughout the Revolution and whose trained eyes readily recognized its fitness as an ideal defensive position, being on an elevated level plain overlooking an extensive prairie on the southwest and a connecting valley on the northwest. The level plain afforded a natural camp site, and the elevation above the prairie made it doubly secure from attack on two sides.

The impression made on General Arthur St. Clair and his aides when they arrived here from Fort Jefferson with an army of some seventeen hundred mixed troops on Monday, October 24, 1791, is recorded in their diaries. St. Clair remarks: "Named the fort, Jefferson . . . and marched, the same Indian path serving to conduct us, about six miles, and encamped on good ground and in an excellent position; a rivulet in front and a very large plain, which would, at the proper season, afford forage for a thousand horses, on our left."

Major Ebenezer Denny makes a similar entry in his diary: "The army took up their line of march about 9 o'clock. Pursued the old Indian path leading north through a fine open woods. The soil and timber of a superior quality. Gained six miles and encamped along the bank of a handsome creek running east; a large prairie on our left." Upon leaving this camp on October 30 Denny emphasizes the impression created by saying: "The army took up the line of march about nine o'clock, crossed the creek upon the bridge, and left a very handsome encampment."

Col. Winthrop Sargent, the college educated Adjutant General, comments more fully in his journal, saying: "Encamped upon high ground with open woods at the bank of a handsome stream of forty feet running east, and which, it is supposed, discharges itself into the Great Miami below Tawintwa. . . . Many new and old camps have been observed near our route and are very plenty about this encampment. The ashes of some of them were warm upon our arrival, and we are probably now upon the last hunting grounds of the Indians. The army is disposed of in two lines, with artillery and cavalry upon the right and left, and the militia in the rear and towards the left flank of the army, about half a mile distant, near a considerable wet prairie." (Oakwood.) This was an ancient and well-known campsite at the meeting place of several well-worn trails which merged at the old fording place where the creek turns east just below the mouth of Mud Creek. A few years later Tecumseh and his twin brother, "The Prophet," chose the hill beyond the old ford as recruiting headquarters as they could see plainly in every direction of approach.

In view of these favorable comments it is probable that St. Clair would have fortified this place in preference to Fort Jefferson, where the area is more restricted, if he had known about it in advance. Wayne profited by St. Clair's experience, cut a forty-foot road to this site, in the summer of 1793, and arrived here with a larger army on October 13 of that year. He

immediately proceeded to clear the ground of the fine virgin growth of hardwood trees and by the first of November was laying out the lines of the largest and strongest log stockade in the Ohio valley country. On November 13 orders were issued to mark and lay out the ground for the Commander-in-Chief, the Brigadier Generals, and the Colonel Commandants huts, as also those of the staff officers, together with the ground for the magazine, laboratory for making fixed ammunition, artificers shops, and for the hospital, Quartermaster General's and contractor's stores. Previous to the erection of these larger buildings orders had been issued for the erection of several hundred fourteen-foot square log huts for the soldiers.

### GREENE VILLE IS NAMED

This camp was at first designated as "Headquarters, So. West Branch Miami" but, on November 21, 1793, an order was issued that "This encampment shall in future be known and distinguished by the name of Greene Ville," no doubt in honor of General Nathanael Green (deceased), a favorite friend of Wayne during the Revolution, concerning whom he once said, "He was great as a soldier, greater as a citizen, immaculate as a friend."

### THE CITADEL IS BUILT

The location, outlines and detailed features of the frontier log fort, built by Gen. Wayne in the winter of 1793 and spring of 1794, and used as headquarters and training ground of his army, a citadel and main link in the chain of posts stretching from the Ohio to Maumee Bay, and the site of the great treaty of 1795, are well authenticated by the journal of Captain Daniel Bradley, the orderly books of Gen. Wayne, and the early survey made by James McBride, a well-known historian and civil engineer of Hamilton, Ohio, although no official drawing or plan has as yet been recovered from the Government archives. By comparing and combining these reliable records and supplementing them with the random remarks of pioneer writers it is possible to make a satisfactory restoration of this large and formidable frontier post. The main structure enclosed about fifty acres, extending from the present eastern line of Broadway (Greenville, O.) to the bluffs along the prairie, and from the hills along Greenville creek to a line parallel with Third street, running about one hundred feet south of it, with prominent bastions at the four corners projecting well beyond the walls of the stockade. The projection at the northeast corner was especially prominent, extending from the intersection of Broadway and Water street to the hill overlooking the creek a short distance west of Walnut street. Likewise, the blockhouse at the southwest corner occupied the hill overlooking the prairie near the foot of West Fourth street. The north wall, on the bluff following the creeks, and the west wall, overlooking the prairie, ran in irregular lines according to the terrain, and were built of rough heavy logs set and rammed upright in a trench and extending some fifteen feet above the ground with a strip of timber pinned near the top to keep them in position. The eastern and southern walls were probably formed, in part at least, by the outer, or back-walls, of the barracks and larger buildings of the fort.

### THE TEMPORARY BLOCKHOUSES

To guard the new encampment of some 900 by 1800 feet dimensions during the construction of this sturdy frontier fortress eight temporary blockhouses, or outposts, were erected at a distance of some three hundred

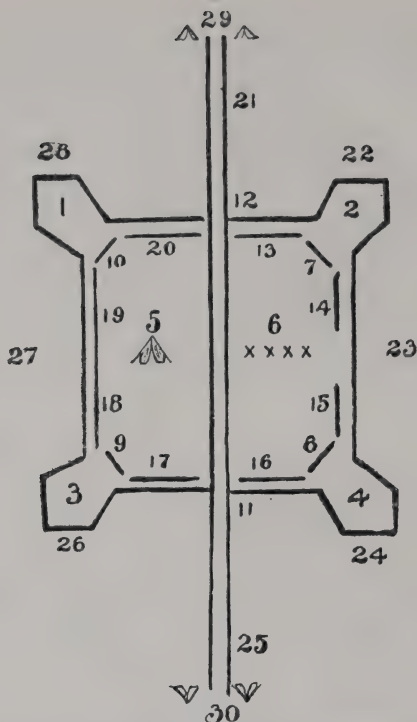


yards beyond the outer lines, three being in front, three in the rear, and one on each flank. "These outer posts were abandoned after the completion of the four large blockhouses and are later referred to by Wayne as the "exerior redoubts" which were assigned to some of the Indian tribes participating in the treaty negotiations to be used as their council-houses, or headquarters, at their convenience. Because of the low ground on the north side of the creek it is probable that one of these outposts was located in the southern part of Greenville cemetery and the others on the rising ground along, or near, North Main street. The one on the western flank was probably located on "Tecumseh's Point," and the one on the east near the old cemetery, on East Water street, or farther south, while the three to the south probably extended from the hill overlooking the prairie, near the intersection of Sweitzer street and the Pennsylvania railway, with one near the intersection of Wayne avenue and Armstrong street, and a third near the junction of South Broadway and Martin street.

### CAPT. BRADLEY DESCRIBES CAMP

Captain Bradley confirms this general description in his diary, saying: "Some time the fore part of Nov'r (November) it was determined the army would move no farther this season. We were ordered to build hutts for the winter. We are hutted in an oblong square about six hundred yards long & three broad, inclosed with pickets fifty yards without (outside of) the hutts all round. Two hundred and fifty yards without the picketts is nine block-houses—three in front, three in rear, and one on each flank, where our guards are kept." (Correct count is eight.) This record indicates that there was an unoccupied zone of about half a block between the soldiers' huts and the picket lines and suggests that the huts might have been ranged on all four sides of the encampment, probably surrounding an inner court, or square. It is known that Wayne's headquarters was near the center of the camp (near the present intersection of West Main and Elm streets), that there was an artillery park extending eastward, and an open square southward, where a public market was maintained for the convenience of the soldiers.

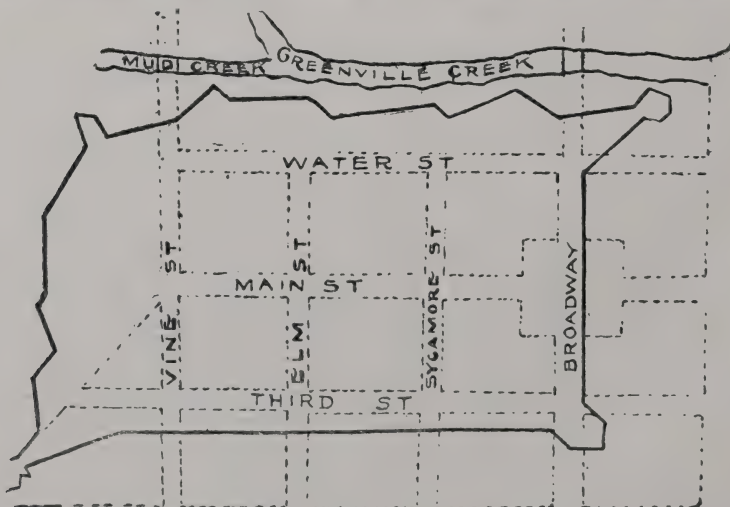
A map by McBride indicates that there was a rivulet, probably originating in a strong spring, located near the middle of the block, now enclosed by Water, Main, Sycamore and Elm streets, and flowing to the creek in a northerly direction. No doubt this was the soldiers' main source of supply for drinking water, and later proved a great asset to the tannery and slaughter house, located near its course to the creek. This spring is still flowing freely in the basement of a house on the north side of Water street. This spring was probably in Wayne's garden conveniently located in reference to the headquarters. Tradition says that there was a bridge across Greenville creek near the point where the ravine entered, and it is probable that this is the point where St. Clair built the first bridge for his army to cross on its northward march on account of easy approach from his camp. This ravine has been largely filled in order to grade Water street and furnish building lots on its north side. The writer distinctly remembers drinking from the clear, strong, cold stream that issued from the extended pipe at the old tannery and finding numerous metal soldier uniform buttons near the place of its discharge along the creek in his boyhood days, suggesting that the soldiers drank here also. It seems probable that the outer block-house on the western flank was later occupied by Tecumseh and The Prophet



#### LOCATION OF WAYNE'S TROOPS AT CAMP GREENE VILLE 1793-1795

- |                                |                         |                         |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Lieut. Massie's Blockhouse  | 7. 2nd troop Dragoons.  | 15-16. 1st Sub. Legion. |
| 2. Lieut. Pope's Blockhouse.   | 8. 1st troop Dragoons.  | 17-18. 2nd Sub. Legion. |
| 3. Lieut. Porter's Blockhouse. | 9. 4th troop Dragoons.  | 19-20. 4th Sub. Legion. |
| 4. Lieut. Ford's Blockhouse.   | 10. 3rd troop Dragoons. | 21-23. Picket Guards.   |
| 5. Headquarters.               | 11-12. Gateways.        | 29. Advanced Guards.    |
| 6. Artillery Park.             | 13-14. 3rd Sub. Legion. | 30. Rear Guards.        |

The four blockhouses correspond to the four corner projections shown on illustration below.



OUTLINE MAP OF FORT GREENE VILLE  
(Early survey of James McBride)

as their headquarters from 1805 to 1807. The exact location of this log building was on the hill at the point where the railway now enters the bridge over Greenville creek. From this point the Indian leaders could see far up and down the creek valleys and out over the prairies toward Fort Jefferson.

## THE GATEWAYS

No doubt the main gateways of the fort were near the center of the southern and eastern walls, the former being the gate of entrance, and the latter the gate of departure. If there were any gates in the picket walls, overlooking the prairie and creek valley, they were, probably, narrower, being used mostly for the exit of detachments and small bodies of troops, sent out to cut hay, practice target shooting and go through mass drilling operations. As Wayne's army is known to have left through the east gate on its advance to Fort Recovery on July 28, 1794, it is probable that the creek was crossed on a bridge erected near Locust street, the nearest natural fording place, being approached by a gradual slope. Wayne's army was organized as a Legion, with four sub-legions, whose commanders had their headquarters, respectively, in the four corner blockhouses. (See cut—"Location of troops at Greene Ville," page 14.)

Because of the intervening bottom land on the north side of Greenville creek the three temporary outer blockhouses protecting the camp must have been erected on the rising ground bordering North Main street. This is partially confirmed by the testimony of pioneers who stated that there was a blockhouse on the elevated ground in the south side of Greenville cemetery, and a log building used by Government surveyors about 1798-1800 and a French trader about 1800 to 1805, near the southwest corner of North Main street and Floral avenue (lot 25 in the original Minatown Plat). It is said that the trader was stolen out or driven away by the Indians and that Azor Scribner, of Middletown, opened up a store in the abandoned hut in the spring of 1807 or earlier, with a small stock of goods suited for the Indian trade, such as tobacco, rum, powder lead, rifles, knives, hatchets, fancy calicoes, etc., with the commercial instinct of supplying what the Indians wanted mostly before they could get it elsewhere at exorbitant prices. He took furs in exchange for most of his merchandise, no doubt, and made small change largely in Spanish fractional silver coins.

A tradition handed down in the family of James B. Oliver, of Dayton, Ohio, says that a Pennsylvania family, by the name of Hardman (or Herdman), settled on the rising ground north of Greenville creek, probably east of the present city park, opposite the end of East Water street. This pioneer family included the father, mother, two sons, a son's wife, and two small children. They had built a log cabin and commenced to make a clearing when they were attacked by some prowling Indians. The whole family was slain, except the young mother and babe, who were saved by the intervention of a young warrior, later identified as Tecumseh, who was to become the intelligent and resourceful leader of the Shawanese nation. It is known that there was a blockhouse at the southwest corner of Wayne avenue and Armstrong street. Although sometimes associated with the War of 1812, the location and distance of this outpost suggests that it was the central one of the three guarding the southern approach to the fort; also that there might have been another near the present intersection of Broadway and Martin street. Until more authentic data can be secured, however, these locations must be considered approximate and conjectural. The apparently premature burning of these



sturdy buildings may have delayed settlement of the country by the pioneers until the town plat of Greenville was filed at the county seat of what was then Miami county, by John Devor, of Montgomery county, in 1808. Devor was a civil engineer, who had helped to plat and survey the original town of Dayton, and a close comparison of the maps will reveal the similarity of the plats, with the first streets parallelling the river, instead of being laid out according to the cardinal points, with streets numbered and named in reference to their locations to the stream. However, the pioneers came mostly from the lower Miami valley and established settlements first in the counties to the south to serve as a backwall of protection against possible Indian attacks.

### CAPTAIN BIG-TREE IS BURIED

The mysterious death of Captain Big-Tree (alias Stiff-Knee), a war-chief of the Seneca Nation, caused a Court of Inquiry to be called for five o'clock, on January 23, 1794. This big chief had been around the camp some time, cultivating friendly relations with Wayne and trying to convince the Delawares, by argument and threat, to accept the peace terms proposed by the Americans for their own security and welfare. Bootleg whiskey may have had something to do with his sudden demise, as on the 24th strict orders were issued prohibiting merchants, storekeepers and traders from bringing into the garrison, or vicinity, any kind of whiskey, however distilled. The funeral of the big chief was ordered for four o'clock in the afternoon, and his remains were to be interred in Captain Ford's redoubt (see cut No. 1), "A gun from which will be the signal to assemble. Minute guns will continue to fire until the corpse arrives at the grave. One captain, two sub-alterns, and fifty non-commissioned officers and privates are to parade in the most soldierly condition to fire over him. All the music of the Legion will also attend." A walnut coffin, with old English coins, metal buttons and decayed bones, was exhumed along the curb in front of the Ohio block on Broadway, when that street was first paved, about 1900, which were plausibly the remains of the big chief, as this was the approximate site of Ford's blockhouse.

### WAYNE'S HEADQUARTERS

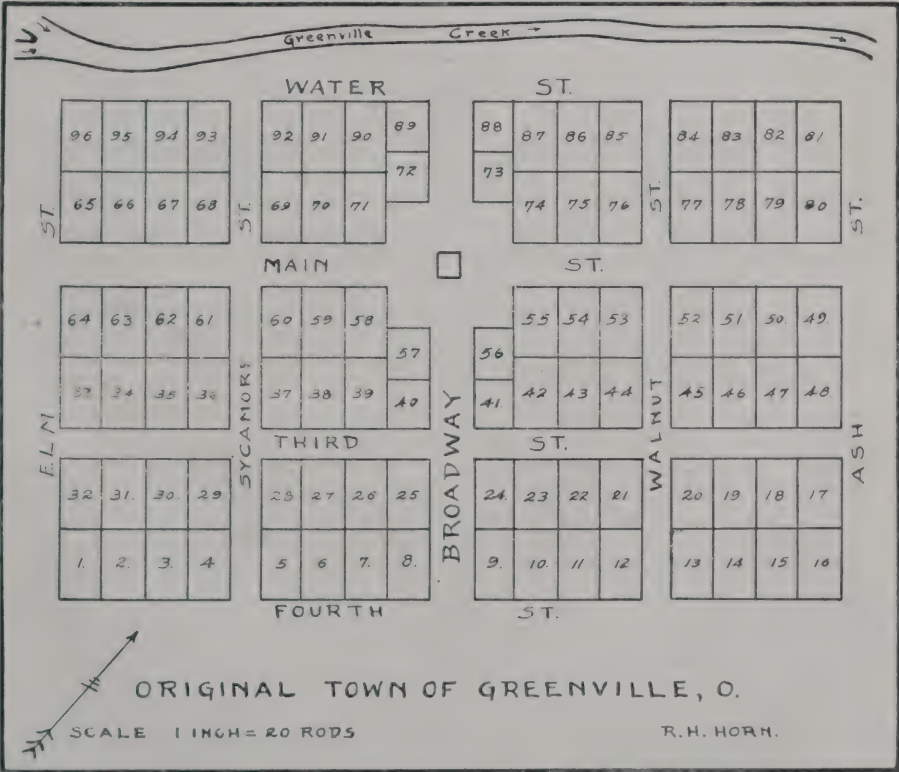
Commandant Wayne's headquarters was located near the center of the camp—one reliable authority placing the site on lot 65 of the original plat of the city of Greenville, Ohio, a few rods northeast of the intersection of West Main and Elm streets. Gen. Wm. H. Harrison, aide-de-camp to Wayne, who signed the treaty in 1795, also conducted a treaty with some of the tribes in 1814, holding the speaking in a grove on the same site and thus identifying its location. Tradition says that the pioneers who settled in the vicinity of Dayton, Ohio, following Wayne's treaty, are credited with burning many of the buildings of the fort, after its abandonment in the fall of 1796, in order to get the hand-wrought hinges, locks, nails and other hardware to be used in constructing their homes. However, one large building, said to be Wayne's headquarters, was left standing. This building was composed of two separate log rooms about twenty feet square with a twelve foot driveway between them, and an upper floor and roof extending over both rooms and driveway facing on what is now West Water street. Azor Scr bner, the pioneer merchant of Greenville, conducted a store and tavern in this log building upon the arrival of his family, and an early session of the Darke

County Common Pleas Court is credited with meeting in the bar room of this tavern in 1817. Further confirmation is needed to substantiate some of these statements.

When the council house was erected it was placed, according to plausible authority, immediately west of headquarters, probably near the present intersection of West Water and Elm streets, on the bluff overlooking the ford of the creek. The vacant square to the south was assigned for a "market-place for country produce" under charge of a corporal, who acted as market-master to protect the country people, who brought in the produce from undisclosed quarters, from insult and forestalling. It seems probable that these farmers cultivated small tracts of land under the protection of the guns of the fort, and lived inside the pickets. We are forced either to this conclusion, or that they brought their articles up from the lower settlements. These were the true pioneer farmers.

### THE OFFICIAL FAMILY

The report of Wayne's Legion for the month of November, 1793, the month following arrival at Camp Greene Ville, reveals a total of 2934 officers, non-commissioned officers and privates enlisted in the four Sub-Legions



making up his whole command. Many of these men were stationed at Forts Washington, Hamilton, St. Clair, Jefferson, Vincennes, Steuben, Massac, Pittsburgh, and Carlisle, Pa.; some of the officers were seeking new recruits in New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas; and some were absent on escort duty, probably reducing the garrison at Greene Ville to two thousand or less men. 790 men were enlisted in the first Sub-Legion; 670 in the second; 767 in the third, and 691 in the fourth. There were 19 men designated on the General Staff; 61 in the Field Staff; 166 in the Artillery; 567 in the Rifle Corps, and 2125 in the Infantry. The members of the General Staff included Brig. Gen. James Wilkinson, second in command; Adjt. Gen. John Mills, Quartermaster General James O'Hara, Paymaster Gen. Caleb Swan, Chaplain David Jones. Henry De Butts, a personal friend of Wayne, was his first aide-de-camp and secretary; William H. Harrison, destined to become president of the United States, was also a trusted aide as well as Thomas Lewis and Bartholomew Shaumbaugh. Campbell Smith was Judge of Court Martial; Richard Allison was the Surgeon General, with six assistants, and the doughty David Jones was chaplain. Each of the Legions had its separate organization with numerous majors, captains and lieutenants. Although filling many positions of trust in the army during almost his entire public life, Gen. Wilkinson became involved in cabals against both Washington and Wayne and compromising intrigues which caused him several court martials and led modern authors to call him the Admirable Trumpeter and the Tarnished Warrior.

## THE COMMANDER'S GARDEN

That the Commander-in-Chief had a large and well-kept garden of his own, is indicated by several written orders, issued during the spring and summer months for the payment of the gardeners, who received one extra gill for whiskey per day for their labors. Apparently, four men were thus employed for the season, when not on military duty, and were satisfied with this small addition to their regular army pay. The testimony of an early native of Greenville suggests that this garden was on the beautiful sloping ground between Wayne's headquarters and the creek and was enclosed by rows of low pickets to give proper privacy and extra security.

## WATER ROUTE TO GREENVILLE

Persistent tradition asserts that Wayne cut a road from the mouth of Greenville creek to headquarters and built a blockhouse on the eastern bluff of Stillwater opposite the entrance of the creek to protect transportation. This blockhouse was called Fort Rowdy and was within the present limits of Covington, Ohio, on the high bank about a block south of Route 36. By this arrangement Wayne could bring supplies up the Miami river to the present site of Dayton and then up the Stillwater to Fort Rowdy. From this point the supplies could be unloaded and hauled to Greene Ville, except in times of high water, when they might be transferred to a barge above Greenville falls and brought by water to the citadel. At that period of heavy forests and thick underbrush the water was held back and the streams remained at high stage for weeks following seasonal rains. As Col. Sargent reported Greenville creek to be forty feet wide upon the arrival of St. Clair's army, in October, 1791, following fall rains, it seems plausible that full water trans-



portation was actually accomplished after Wayne had explored the possibility of such a scheme. These conjectures are strengthened by a commissary order issued at Green Ville on April 24, 1795, showing an allowance of nineteen food rations, covering a period of nineteen days, from the fifth to the twenty-fourth of the month, made "for one woman belonging to barge crew," who was probably employed as a cook for the boat crew while coming up from Cincinnati by this water route.

## MAINTAINING DISCIPLINE

To break the monotony of camp life an occasional duel was fought between the petty officers and "gentlemen" of the garrison. It is recorded in Captain Bradley's journal that such an affray occurred between Lieutenant Bradshaw and Lieutenant Huston in which both were shot, the former living about fifteen or eighteen hours, and the latter about thirty-six. It is also recorded in the orderly books that Edward O'Brien and Matthew Gill "were sentenced and ordered shot to death between the hours of five and six o'clock in the afternoon in the center of the front line," for sitting down and sleeping at their picket posts. Discipline inside the pickets had been applied with an iron hand when the army was in training, previous to the advance to the Maumee and was, no doubt, continued after the return.

Such serious misdemeanors as desertion and stealing were punished with one hundred lashes on the bare back, while minor offenses were given fifty stripes. On one occasion a sutler, later a prominent pioneer of Dayton, was found guilty of selling hard liquor to a soldier, "thereby occasioning intoxication and irregularity among the soldiers," for which he was sentenced to forfeit his supplies of liquor and was flogged with one hundred lashes and forced to walk around the encampment with the bells tied to him while a noisy drum corps followed in his steps.

## PARDON AND REPRIEVE

On Nov. 29, Sgt. Keating, who had been confined in irons at Fort Jefferson, charged with mutiny and stealing some cows, was brought into the provost guard, where Corporal Reading was under sentence of death for leaving his post and assisting in stealing and killing a cow. Several other purported criminals were in confinement for various crimes. The stage was now set for a solemn and spectacular event. As customary, the sentences were set to be carried out on the sabbath day, which was on the morrow, Nov. 30. Sgt. Keating was to be shot, and Corp. Reading to be hanged by the neck. At the appointed hour a solemn procession was formed and marched half a mile to the proposed place of execution. It was a rainy day. The chaplain spoke about twenty minutes and then offered prayer. Reading was promptly ordered to ascend the wagon which was chosen for a scaffold; the warrant was read, the handkerchief drawn over his face, the rope cast over the beam and at this tense climax "a gracious pardon" was granted from his excellency (General Wayne) which deeply affected the whole army besides many spectators present, with gratitude, for Reading was a brave young man in his nineteenth year. Then Sgt. Keating was ordered on his knees, the cap drawn over his face, the guard prepared; but a reprieve took place, for which many hearts were very thankful.

Keating had been a sergeant in the last war and a very trusty man, but whiskey was his ruin. All the troops returned with appearance of joy.

Even after the signing of the treaty discipline was maintained, as revealed in a diary entry of Sept. 14, 1795: "Two soldiers were to be executed, one from Connecticut, named Hubble, the other from The Jersey, named Harvey, who was actually hanged, but Hubble was pardoned.

An interesting entry was made in the chaplain's diary on December 14, 1794, stating that Isaac Zane, one McClean, Enos, a Wyandot, and another real Indian, had come in and revealed that the prospect of peace had vanished, as McKee and Eliot, the British Indian agents, were then busily employed in deceiving the Indians and offering high bribes to continue the war, with strong assurances to join them in the spring. In the meantime the Indians were to make a deed to the King of Great Britain for all of the land northwest of the Ohio river.

On December 20, 1794, all of the Quartermaster's stores, which had been coming overland, arrived safely and the chaplain received his keg of sugar, and keg of coffee and chocolate in good shape. As Captain De Butts, aide de camp to Wayne, was to set off for Philadelphia, the capital, on Dec. 23rd, Rev. Jones was instructed to accompany him. On that day he received fifty dollars from Caleb Swan the army paymaster, which was, apparently, his entire cash compensation for services to that time or his regular monthly allowance. The companions set out as arranged and arrived at Cincinnati on the 25th. From here they traveled through Kentucky and the wilderness, no doubt by way of Cumberland Gap and up the Shenandoah valley through Virginia, and Jones arrived safely at his home in Chester county, Pa., on Jan. 27, 1795. Here he remained until May 1, when he started on his return journey, arriving at Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh) on May 13. On May 26 he left Wheeling by boat. On June 7 we find him at Fort Washington again. Here he came into contact with Rev. Morgan John Rhys, the Welsh Baptist missionary, who was also on the way to Greene Ville. He started northward Sunday, June 21, when he advanced to Ft. Hamilton. He passed on to Fort St. Clair and on July 4 we find him in Greene Ville again taking part in the impressive celebration of the day. On Sunday, the fifth, Rev. Mr. Rhys delivered his celebrated sermon "in the garden" in which he expressed advanced ideas about the rightful ownership of the land, the white man's attitude towards the Indians, and a plausible method for educating and assimilating the native tribes. The basic principles of the Dunbarton Oaks conference are foreshadowed in the address, which caused Chaplain Jones to register the following unfavorable comment in his diary for the day: July 5—"No worship only Mr. Rhys delivered something in the garden which was not well suited to our ideas on the foundation of American rights to the soil. Men should avoid speaking on subjects which they do not understand, or they will surely give offense to men who know better."

The arrival of prisoners was noted on Sept. 9, 1795, over a month after the treaty was signed, when a woman and three boys were brought in. On Sept. 14-15 it was recorded that five were brought in from the Pottawatomies of the St. Joseph River district, bordering on Lake Michigan. One was a woman 27 years old by the name of Elizabeth Heart, who revealed that her husband and five children were killed when she was taken captive. During the five years of captivity the Indians refused to give her meat or bread, which, however, she occasionally filched while they slept. The captives were offered the intestines of pigeons and raccoons but the Indians kept those of the bear for themselves. They lived largely on acorns and nuts and roots. Mrs. Heart was kept at hard labor and wore a short ragged garment which



did not cover her body sufficiently. On Oct. 20, "Betsy" and four other captives set off for Kentucky. Late in October a German by the name of Waggoner, from Tygart's valley, Virginia, returned from Detroit with his daughter, about twelve years of age, who had been redeemed from captivity.

### WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY

On the first observation of Washington's birthday in 1794, an order was issued to fire fifteen rounds from the artillery of each blockhouse at noon, "in honor of the day that gave birth to George Washington, the illustrious president of the United States" (there being fifteen states at that time). A gill of spirits was also issued to every noncommissioned officer and soldier, and all of the prisoners pardoned and liberated. The first Fourth of July was observed in a similar manner, and strict orders issued prohibiting the sale of spirituous drinks. It is reliably stated that the new American flag with fifteen stars and fifteen stripes was first unfurled at Greene Ville, the headquarters of the American Army, probably on this occasion.

### A COUNCIL HOUSE IS BUILT

After Wayne's troops had returned from the Maumee in November, 1794, following the erection of Fort Wayne, and were getting comfortably settled in their log huts, delegations of Indians from the lake region came from their distant villages and joined their former allies of the Maumee, Wabash and the headwaters of the tributaries of the Ohio, seeking terms of lasting peace. They had come first to Fort Wayne, expecting to find the Commander-in-Chief there, but were told to go to army headquarters at Greene Ville where the advanced runners arrived on January 1, 1795, and found General Wayne ready and waiting, and, after a short parley, the chosen delegates signed preliminary articles with him, on January 24, agreeing that the sachems and war chiefs representing these nations should meet again at headquarters on or about June 15, 1795, to confer and, if possible, agree upon lasting peace terms.

On account of the large number of tribes involved, the need of secrecy, and the importance of the coming conference, Wayne realized that the treaty should be negotiated inside the walls of a specially constructed building and in conformity to accepted ceremonies and customs. This necessitated the building of a council house of proper size and features. The origin of the council house custom seems obscure. Whether it originated with the Indians or was suggested by the custom of the Anglo-Saxons, who held important conferences inside specially constructed halls, seems uncertain. It is known, however, that the large house of the tribal Indian chief was sometimes used for minor conferences, while larger gatherings were held in a much more commodious building erected specially for this purpose, where open discussion could be engaged in with due ceremony, according to accepted customs. In this way was developed an institution similar to the New England Town Hall, which may, in fact, have been influenced by it.

While the exact location, size and appearance of the council house constructed by Wayne for the great conference are not generally known, some reliable information is gleaned from the reports of Gen. William H. Harrison, who was one of Wayne's aides and signed the treaty with him. Gen. Harrison conducted the second treaty at Greenville, in 1814, nineteen years after the first one, and was well acquainted with the terrain, although a village



of huts had grown up on the site in the meantime. Col. John Johnston, the well-known Indian agent of Upper Piqua, brought a considerable delegation of friendly Indians from their reservation to Greenville to take part in the treaty of 1814. Records indicate that he camped about half a block west of the present site of the Public Square and displayed a large American flag at his headquarters. Upon the arrival of Gen. Harrison, however, he was ordered to remove the banner to a site some thirty rods to the southwest, where Wayne had held his treaty, near the center of the old fort. This was near the intersection of West Main and Elm streets on the new town plat, laid out by John Devor, in 1808. Harrison is said to have erected a temporary council house, or, more properly, a booth or arbor, at the north-east corner of the intersection (city lot 65), immediately west of Wayne's old headquarters, and a pioneer writer says that the negotiations of the second treaty were held in a little grove on this site.

These accounts can be reconciled by supposing that the preliminary talking took place in the grove while the final signing, with accompanying formalities, occurred in the council booth. As Wayne had a large corps of experienced engineers and builders with his army, it is probable that he erected a more substantial structure, large enough to accommodate the numerous warriors who gathered around the council fire and gesticulated in their impressive and spectacular orations. In the absence of detailed descriptions it seems plausible to infer that the council house comprised a rough log framework covered with a split shingle roof and elm bark sides. The ample size of this building is suggested by the fact that the Shawnee band under Tecumseh and the Prophet built a similar structure approximately 35 by 150 feet at their village of Prophetstown, south of Greenville, some ten years later.

### THE COUNCIL FIRE IS KINDLED

After the humiliating defeat of the confederated tribes at the Maumee Rapids on August 20, 1794, the Indians were not unanimous in their sentiments concerning the continuance of hostilities. The British agents in Canada, who had formerly striven to cultivate their friendship and cooperation, were anxious to strengthen their waning morale and kept urging them to continue their hostilities against the Americans. However, they recalled that the British had refused to open the gates of Fort Miami when they were fleeing from the bayonets of Wayne's crack troops during the heat of the recent battle. Besides this they reflected on the rapidly growing strength and numbers of the Americans who were bound to establish a definite boundary somewhere beyond the Ohio at an early date.

It was characteristic of the Indians that they wavered in their alliances, like some of the weaker nations of Europe during the first World War, as well as in the present conflict. Realizing their waning numbers and strength they now desired the protection of the strongest neighboring power. In earlier days they had been allied with the French, but when the French were defeated by the British in the French and Indian War, they soon transferred their allegiance to the British. Since the Americans had defeated the British in the recent Revolution and Mad Anthony had revealed the true mettle and strength of the aroused frontiersmen, exhibiting a strong spirit of courage, determination and fair dealing, qualities admired by true Indians of every tribe, why not accept the Americans in their assurances of a just and liberal peace?

The departure of the Kentucky militia for home in the fall of 1794 and the drastic reduction of the garrison in the frontier forts were known to the British, who used these facts and conditions in their persistent attempts to induce the warriors to continue the conflict. The better judgment of the older chiefs finally prevailed and the most friendly tribes decided to pledge their support of an effort for peace. Records reveal that the preliminary conference was held in the newly constructed council-house, where Wayne passed the calumet and gave the accredited Indian delegates brandy to drink to the health of the Great Spirit. He then told them that they must recognize the validity of the old treaties signed by them, ceding certain lands northwest of the Ohio, must surrender all white prisoners held by them, and attend a final peace conference in June—to all of which conditions they readily agreed.

### WAYNE BECOMES A DIPLOMAT

Heretofore, Wayne had become nationally famous for his successful military exploits during the Revolution, as well as on the Maumee, but had had little experience in the field of diplomacy. He must now conduct a lot of correspondence with the agents of the subdued tribes through his scouts and the swift runners of the Indians, who threaded the devious paths of the forest. That his exchange of correspondence at this period was extensive is shown by the fact that one hundred and six closely written messages and invitations are recorded in the folio pages recorded in the appendix to the treaty which was conducted during the summer. In the meantime Wayne had to devote much study to the ancient and elaborate ceremonies connected with Indian treaty negotiations. That he proved to be a shrewd and successful diplomat is shown by the manner in which he negotiated with the chiefs and sachems around the council fire prior to the signing of the treaty. The mysterious death of Chief Big Tree, the intimidation of Chief Tar-he by Isaac Williams, the halfbreed Wyandot from the Sandusky settlement, in the effort to divide this influential nation, and many similar subversive activities indicate that "strong-arm" methods were sometimes employed to accomplish desired results.

### A STRENUOUS YEAR

The year 1795 proved to be one of the most strenuous in the career of Wayne as it was largely spent in getting ready for and transacting the exacting details of the great treaty with the shrewd and crafty chiefs of the Northwestern tribes. Early in the year he had suffered serious illness, which confined him to bed, while Gen. Wilkinson took advantage of the situation and stirred up discontent among the officers and radical elements and strove to form a cabal of officers in order to promote his own popularity and selfish interests.

He had spent three years in recruiting, organizing and drilling his excellent army; in transporting the soldiers from Fort Pitt and Fort Washington; in cutting a road through the dense wilderness and across large swamps from the Ohio to the Maumee; in completing the line of blockhouse forts started by Gen. St. Clair; and in defeating the confederated Indian tribes. This was a campaign which, on account of the distance covered, the wilderness penetrated and the barbarous tribes encountered, has been well compared with Caesar's conquest of Gaul. The hardships and responsibilities of this campaign had drawn heavily on his reserve energy and now he would have a chance to spend several months within the picket lines of his massive log citadel, the rustic headquarters. From his sturdy quarters he



could look northward along the road to Fort Recovery; eastward across the artillery park towards Fort Loramie; southward over the busy market stalls; westward, perchance, over his extensive and well-cultivated garden, while the long rows of soldiers' huts filled most of the space not reserved for the bakeovens, powder magazines, laboratory, hospital, sutlers' stores, artificers' shops, guardhouses and officers' headquarters, all surrounded by rows of sturdy log pickets with formidable blockhouses guarding the corners, covering fifty acres of recently cleared forest land. It had taken several months of hard labor by a large corps of expert axemen, under the direction of the army engineers, to complete this unique frontier structure, built to resist any assault the enemy might make against it.

Within these walls efficiency and rigid discipline were everywhere in evidence and Wayne must have had the smug feeling that he had complied with the instruction of President Washington when he selected him as the responsible leader of this western campaign which was going to mean so much in the extension and development of the infant Republic. Major John Mills, of Revolutionary experience, was his efficient Adjutant General, destined to die in July, 1796, and be buried under the walls of the fort, after three years of service in advanced post duty; James O'Hara, the Quartermaster; Wm. H. Harrison, an ensign and aide, destined to become the first President of the United States from the new country west of the mountains; Henry DeButts and Thomas Lewis, other faithful aides, and experienced friends.

### FAMOUS BAND OF SCOUTS

When planning his advance into the Indian country Wayne soon decided to organize a band of brave and experienced scouts and spies—men who had lived among the Indians and who were well acquainted with their customs and manner of life and who had the courage, daring and good common sense required to make secret and safe expeditions among them in order to secure vital information. At this critical period, either by an act of Providence, or good fortune, William Wells came to headquarters and proffered his invaluable services. Wells, with two brothers, had been stolen from his home near Louisville, Kentucky, by a pilfering band of Miami Indians, when about eleven years of age, carried to their village near the present site of Fort Wayne, Indiana, and adopted into the family of Chief Little Turtle, where he grew to manhood and married in the immediate family of this great chief. Because of his pliable disposition, skill and courage and his ability as an interpreter when dealing with the whites, he became extremely popular among his new friends. It is said that he accompanied Little Turtle in his successful battles with Gen. Harmar, near Fort Wayne, in 1790, and with St. Clair, in 1791, in which many white Kentuckians were slain. Reflecting on the possibility that he himself might have been guilty of killing some of his own flesh and blood he decided to separate from his Indian connections and offer his services to the advancing Americans. This he succeeded in doing with the friendly cooperation of Little Turtle, served faithfully with Wayne, later became commandant at Fort Wayne, and was killed in a brave and hopeless struggle with the Indians following their assault on Fort Dearborn (Chicago), in August, 1812.

Associated with Wells in this matchless band of scouts were Col. John McDonald, Captain Ephraim Kibby, Messers Hickman, Tharp, Henry and Christopher Miller, and the noted athlete, Robert McClellan. It is recorded of the latter that he demonstrated his agility at Greene Ville on the Grand

Parade, probably on the sloping ground of the short ravine before mentioned, by leaping over the bows of a canvass-covered wagon, fully eight feet from the ground. Because of their agility and prowess, these men were high favorites when lounging about the fort between their forays into the Indian country.

In June, 1794, shortly before his contemplated advance, Wayne dispatched Wells, McClellan and Henry Miller into the Indian country with the hope of seizing Indian captives for interviewing, about their strength, location and plans. Indian signs were scarce until they reached the Auglaize river where they discovered three Indians camped on an open elevated site around a fire. In order to get within gunshot without being discovered the spies crept cautiously through the weeds and grass and secreted themselves among the branches of a fallen tree top. The unsuspecting Indians were roasting venison and having a hilarious time and did not discover their secretive approach. The scouts quickly decided upon their mode of procedure, selected Wells and Miller to shoot one each of the Indians, following which McClellan was to dash forward and seize the one remaining. At the crack of the two rifles two of the Indians fell and, as the smoke cleared, McClellan plunged forward after the only remaining but startled Indian. Soon realizing that he was fast being cornered the painted warrior, in desperation leaped from a twenty-foot bluff into the river and sank deep in the soft muddy bottom. McClellan following on his heels sprang without hesitation upon him and also sank in the mire. Wells and Miller now came up and pulled the Indian out of the muck, tied him safely and proceeded to wash him off. To their surprise they discovered that he was a white man but could not get him to talk, either in his Indian dialect or English. Miller's suspicion was now aroused as he had a brother who, like himself, had been taken in captivity when young and had spent several years in the forest. On the way to Greene Ville, while riding horseback, Miller suddenly called the captive by his brother's Indian name, whereupon the latter became startled and soon confessed his identity. Upon arrival at Greene Ville the prisoner was confined closely in a guardhouse and frequently interrogated by Wayne and the spies. After persistent urging he decided to abandon his intention of returning to his red companions and to join his brother in the fascinating work of the spy gang. Thus Christopher Miller became another valuable addition to Wayne's forces upon the very eve of his advance into the Indian country. Many similar hair-raising adventures were indulged in by the scouts at this critical period which, if collected and related, would make a book of the most fascinating tales of early border warfare.

### OTHER NOTABLE VISITORS

It is known that Zebulon Pike, father of Col. Zebulon M. Pike, the explorer, visited Greene Ville on at least one occasion, probably to consult Wayne on matters connected with Fort Massac. Francis Vigo, a native of Sardinia, who had taken part in the Revolution, settled in New Orleans, assisted George R. Clark and finally became a very influential citizen of Vincennes, was a visitor at the fort and, apparently, took part in the treaty, one signature being credited to him.

### A NOTED FRENCHMAN ARRIVES

Greene Ville had at least one other noted visitor in the person of the French skeptic, C. F. Volney, who traveled as far south as Charleston and visited Tennessee, Kentucky, Vincennes and the Ohio country at this period.



A story in reference to his appearance in Greene Ville suggests that he must have come by boat, or barge, up the Miami river to the site of Dayton, then up the Stillwater to Fort Rowdy (Covington, O.). He was accompanied by some of Wayne's young officers who, when they arrived at Greenville falls, a few miles up Greenville creek, told him that the Ohio river, in high flood stage, backed the waters of the Upper Miami up to the level of the falls. This man, although an aristocrat, a traveler, writer and philosopher, who discounted the Biblical narrative of the great flood and posed as a skeptic, evidently credited the "bull-story" of the kidding officers, who succeeded in convincing him of its possibility, as he published it in his book, "Notes on Travel in America," after his return to Europe. "What fools these mortals be."

Besides the French-Indian interpreters, there were, no doubt, many men from Kentucky who later became prominent in the business and public life as well as others who gave valuable service in the states formed from the Old Northwest, making Greene Ville the rendezvous of many of the most colorful and distinguished citizens later associated with the development of this matchless territory.

### FORMER TREATIES

While awaiting for the arrival of the tribal delegates to the approaching treaty negotiations Wayne must have made a careful study of Indian treaties in general, paying particular attention to those concerning the Indian claims and titles to the lands comprising the Northwest Territory. Although these lands had been occupied by various families and tribes of Algonkian stock of woods Indians, "from time immemorial," they were formerly claimed by the crafty Iroquian Confederation, or Six Nations, living in the Mohawk valley and Finger lake district of New York, who kept the native tribes in subjection by occasional ruthless invasions and acts of terrorism, until they signed the treaty of Fort Stanwix (Rome, N. Y.) in 1784, relinquishing their claims to the lands west of Pennsylvania and north of the Ohio river.

In January, 1785, a treaty was held at Fort McIntosh (Beaver, Pa.) with native tribes of Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas and Ottawas at which these nations agreed to relinquish to the United States their claims to the lands lying east of the Cuyahoga river and south of a line extending southwesterly near the fortieth parallel from the upper Tuscarawas at Fort Laurens (near New Philadelphia, Ohio) to Loramie's store (N. W. Shelby County, O.), together with small, but exceedingly valuable tracts (about Detroit and Michilimackinac), totalling some thirty million acres. These tribes, however, were to retain their rights to hunt and fish as far south as the Ohio river without molestation. With some modifications this treaty was the basis of later negotiations, and was used as a model by General Wayne for coming negotiations.

A treaty, or conference, was held with some of the Shawanese, Delawares and Wyandots at Fort Finney (mouth of the Great Miami), in January, 1786, at which they pledged friendly relations with the Americans. The Shawanese agreed to confine themselves largely between the Great Miami and the Wabash, but later paid scant attention to their pledges. A very bad spirit was manifested at this treaty and the Wabash tribes, whose presence was especially desired, absented themselves, probably being influenced by British agents, as in the later war, and two expeditions were later sent against them. These expeditions, like those of Harmar and St. Clair soon following, suf-

ferred from the hasty organization and lack of discipline, insufficiency of rations and supplies, ignorance of the country and other limitations of frontier days.

In December, 1786, a Grand Council of the tribes was held near the mouth of the Detroit river. Together they formulated an address to Congress, expressing surprise that they had not been considered in the treaty of peace with Great Britain; stated their desire for continued peace, provided the United States did not encroach upon their lands north of the Ohio river; and recommended that the Government make no treaties with separate tribes but with the Confederation alone. This conference, no doubt, was greatly influenced by the British agents and showed the points of contention between the Indians and the new Government.

Shortly after his inauguration as Governor of the Northwest Territory, in 1788, General St. Clair attempted to conciliate the various tribes and arranged conferences and councils with them. As a result, two separate treaties were signed, on January 9, 1789, one with the Iroquois and the other with the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, and Sacs, at Fort Hamar (Marietta), thus counteracting the formation of a Grand Indian confederation, which had been agitated by Chief Brant and some of the shrewd leaders of various tribes. This treaty confirmed the pact of Fort McIntosh, following the boundaries therein laid down, except the substitution of the St. Marys branch of the Maumee, instead of the Auglaize branch, for the northwestern boundary. Thus the general sentiment was for peace, but the Miamis, Shawanese and Wabash tribes failed to concur and desired to make the Ohio river the final boundary between them and the Anglo-Saxon invaders. These were the conditions before the Indian wars and Wayne had been charged to improve them.

## THE ARMY RETURNS

On October 22, 1794, the new outpost at the forks of the Maumee was occupied by Col. J. F. Hamtramck with a garrison of some 275 troops, and officially dubbed Fort Wayne. The Kentucky militia had departed some time previous and now the main army left for Greene Ville, following the old Indian and army trail down the valley of the St. Mary's river to Girty's town (St. Marys, O.). The more direct route would have been by the way of Fort Recovery, but the otherwise level terrain was cut by numerous abrupt defiles, making travel very difficult for the heavy wagons and army equipment. The route selected, however, was very boggy and by the time that Girty's town was reached, it was necessary to remain encamped in order, as Chaplain Jones records, "to recover our teams and pack-horses, which were extremely exhausted, and many horses gave out and some ox-teams. The slaughter of horses is incredible." The troops now turned southwesterly through Fort Loramie, and, after a thirty-six mile advance, arrived at the welcome gates of the frowning fortress at Greene Ville before night, on Sunday, November 2, 1794, after three months of hard and exhausting experience, cutting roads through the heavy timber, crossing swamps, building bridges, fortifying camps, erecting forts and defeating the united Indian tribes on the Maumee. In their absence Greene Ville had been transformed by the completion of the various buildings inside the pickets and putting everything in proper order.

Wayne now gave to each soldier a feast and a gill of whiskey while he prepared for the officers and "higher-ups" a wonderful meat banquet, in-



cluding in the menu all kinds of game from the surrounding forest, garnished with cakes, pies, preserves and all of the delicacies of the frontier fortress. All petty grievances were overlooked and a grand ball was set for the evening. Gen. Wilkinson, who had been the source of much complaint and secret conspiracy, along with his henchmen and sympathisers, now left on a furlough and Wayne issued orders for the restoration of regular army drills and maneuvers.

## CHAPLAIN JONES

Rev. David Jones, the army Chaplain, was a successful Baptist preacher who had served congregations in New Jersey and eastern Pennsylvania—a man of the “rugged individualist” type who had cast his lot with the struggling Colonists at the outbreak of the Revolution and served as chaplain under both St. Clair and Wayne during that war. He was outspoken in the cause of freedom, a strong, original thinker, a fearless and eloquent speaker and a man of great influence. The enemy realized his power and plotted unsuccessfully for his seizure. Wayne recognized his fitness when he persuaded him to act as Chaplain of the Legion. We find him at Pittsburgh and Cincinnati in the summer of 1794 and joining the army wagon train at Fort Hamilton on September 4 to come to headquarters at Greene Ville, where he arrived on the fifth and remained until the eighth. As Wayne had defeated the Indians on the Maumee on August 20, had completed and garrisoned Fort Defiance and was sending the main body of his troops to the forks of the Maumee to erect a strong outpost at this strategic site, the chaplain now accompanied John Tharp, the headmaster of the artificers and his detachment to that point. They followed the army trail to Fort Recovery and then headed across the unfamiliar ravine scarred country and arrived at the site of Kekionga, the old capital settlement of the Miami Indians, on Sept. 18, 1794, just a day after the troops had arrived from Fort Defiance. Jones estimated the distance from Greene Ville to the forks of the Maumee as seventy-five miles by the route taken. The troops soon took up the work of erecting the new strategic log outpost and pursued the task with such vigor that it was ready for occupation on Oct. 22, when Major Hamtramck took formal charge with a garrison of 275 men and named it Fort Wayne, in honor of the commander-in-chief, concerning whom the chaplain reports, “Such is the persevering spirit of the commander-in-chief, that he surmounts all difficulties and attends to all business. He is vigilant as a quartermaster, trusting to no man’s eye but his own. He fixes the ground and directs the encampment to be laid off and attends to the whole business of the army.” The chaplain also remarks, “Our present situation is very pleasant and advantageous. From this place we have an easy communication with all parts of the Western Territory. It is only nine miles to the waters of the Wabash. The road is level and has been a portage for 75 years or more. The taking of this place is fatal to the Indians, and it is evident, has brought the British near their ‘ne plus ultra’.” It should be recalled that the establishment of this advanced outpost in the heart of the Indian country was the main objective of both Harmar’s and St. Clair’s expeditions. Upon the completion of this formidable northwestern defensive bastion, Rev. Jones accompanied the main army back to Greene Ville by way of the old Harmar road down the St. Mary’s valley to Girty’s town (Ft. St. Marys), where a short stop was made to refresh the exhausted soldiers, pack-horses, and ox-teams, before completing the final thirty-six miles to headquarters where the troops arrived on the evening of Nov. 2, 1794. The chaplain observes



that peace messengers from the Wyandots had awaited for some time the appearance of his excellency. These comprised two half bloods, named Enos Coon and Peter Zane, son of Isaac Zane (a brother of Ebenezer Zane, of Wheeling), and a Mr. Williams, who later signed the treaty. Wayne soon dispatched them to the nations with the assurance that he wished for peace and would grant it to them on reasonable terms. The return of Indian missionaries on Dec. 14 revealed that the British Indian agents, McKee and Eliot, were engaged in deceiving and bribing the Indians to continue the war, assuring them that they would join with them in the spring. In the meantime the Indians were expected to make a deed of all the land northwest of the Ohio to the King of Great Britain.

An incident that revealed the presence of several women at Greene Ville is recorded in the chaplain's journal where he states that he dined with Major Hughes and Major Buell on Nov. 7 when the latter officer informed Wayne that a complaint had been filed against Jones by the women of Greene Ville charging that he had refused to baptize their children when requested by them during his short stop in September on his way north. Jones admitted the charge but replied that he considered Christ his commanding officer above all worldly commanders. This statement stirred up a disagreeable argument with Major Buell who contended that Jones was appointed as chaplain to do the bidding of his superior officers and not as a member of the Baptist sect. The argument continued over a glass of wine with threats and insinuations. Some Revolutionary War chaplains had been employed in various capacities, even as regimental officers, at a salary of \$33-1/3 per month.

In the summer of 1796 the chaplain stopped at Greene Ville a few days waiting for company to accompany him on a visit to Detroit. On Sept. 6, he records that the garrison was very sick, and consisted of 350 of whom 300 were ailing. Numerous deaths had occurred during the summer, including Major John Mills, the faithful Adjutant General. Most of the deaths were attributed to swamp fever, ague, and dysentery and burials were probably made on the brow of the hill overlooking the prairie at the present intersection of West Third and Chestnut streets, just outside the southwest bastion of the fort.

An amusing entry was made in the chaplain's diary on Sept. 11, which reads, "Preached from Matt. 28 and last verse, 'Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you alway to the end of the world, Amen'."

"N. B.—The number of my lottery ticket is 122A."

## Chapter II

### KINDLING THE COUNCIL FIRE

SOME friendly nearby Indians seem to have anticipated the hospitable attitude of the Americans as we note their presence as early as March 2, when William Wells, acting for a party of newly arrived Indians, requests an allowance of two quarts of whiskey. Early in May small groups of three or four appear, sometimes with prisoners to release, as on May 6, a request for "four complete rations for Dawson, the prisoner received from the Indians" is allowed, and on the 10th Dawson and two Indians are mentioned, while on the 16th the order is increased to "ten rations of flour and meat for the use of Dawson and four Indians with him." The Shawanese were beginning to collect in numbers as, on May 8, they were allowed "eighty pounds of flour and meat and two quarts of salt," while the Dalawares, too, had commenced to receive increasing allowances. That some friendly Cherokees, a southern tribe, were guests, although not parties to the negotiations, is indicated by various allowances of food made on different occasions. To all appearances their arrival was informal and without previous agreement or arrangement between the various tribes.

### TREATY CEREMONIES

By the middle of June a sufficient number of delegates from the nearer tribes had arrived to formally open the treaty negotiations, as arranged in January, and, accordingly, on the 16th Wayne called them to meet in council for the first time. This meeting, no doubt, was held in the Council House, a building constructed for this express purpose near headquarters. Here the calumet was passed around the circle and smoked by each participant. It should be stated that the Indians although very informal in their ordinary dealings, were very particular about the preliminaries of a treaty and insisted on using certain tedious forms and ceremonies which had been handed down from their remote ancestors. Using these stated forms as a background the Indian orators were allowed to draw on their imagination but used metaphorical language and presented their messages in impressive symbols. The use of such symbols together with their customs and physical peculiarities is thought by intelligent students of Indian life to indicate that the Indians had their origin among the Mongoloid tribes of eastern Siberia where such symbols are commonly employed. Some writers even claim that the Indians are descended from the "lost ten tribes," but this seems a bit fantastic and is not generally believed.

In reference to the metaphors used by the Indians, Francis Parkman says:

"An Indian orator was provided with a stock of metaphors, which he always made use of for the expression of certain ideas. Thus, to make war, was to raise the hatchet; to make peace, was to take hold of the chain of friendship; to deliberate, was to kindle the council fire; to cover the bones of the dead, was to make reparation and gain forgiveness for killing them. A state of war and disaster, was typified by a black cloud; a state of peace,

by bright sunshine, or by an open path between two nations. The orator seldom spoke without careful premeditation of what he was about to say and his memory was refreshed by belts of wampum, which he delivered after every clause in his harangue, as a pledge of the sincerity and truth of his words. These belts were carefully preserved by the hearers, as a substitute for written records; a use for which they were the better adapted, as they were in hieroglyphics expressing the meaning they were designed to preserve. Thus, at a treaty of peace, the principal belt often bore the figure of an Indian and a white-man holding a chain of friendship between them." These symbols made a strong appeal to the imagination and have always been difficult for the prosaic Anglo-Saxon to understand and interpret satisfactorily.

### THE OPENING DAY

We can understand then, why Wayne addressed the assembled Indians on June 16, 1795, as follows: "I have cleared the ground of all brush and rubbish, and have opened roads to the east, the west, the north and the south, that all your nations may come in safety, and with ease, to meet me. The ground on which this council-house stands, is unstained with blood, and is pure as the heart of General Washington, the Great Chief of America, and of his great council—as pure as my heart, which now wishes for nothing so much as peace and brotherly love. The heavens are bright—the roads are open—we will rest in peace and love, and wait the arrival of our brothers. In the interim we will have a little refreshment, to wash the dust from our throats—we will, on this happy occasion, be merry, but without passing the bounds of temperance and sobriety. We will now cover up the council-fire, and keep it alive till the remainder of the different tribes assemble, and form a full meeting and representation."

Peace Pipe Smoked at Treaty  
(Courtesy of Ohio Archaeological  
and Historical Society)





Following Wayne's opening speech, Te-ta-boksh-ke, the king of the Delawares, arose and felicitated the General, stating: "All my people shall be informed of the commencement of our friendship and they will rejoice in it, and I hope it will never end." This statement suggests that the chief alone spoke for the delegation of his tribe encamped outside the fort.

This was significant as the Delawares had the largest delegation at the council and exercised great influence among the tribes. They had migrated from the Atlantic coast with the expansion of the pioneer white settlements and were known for their friendly disposition as revealed in their various treaties with William Penn.

## THE POTTAWATTOMIES ARRIVE

A sizeable delegation of Pot-ta-wat-to-mies arrived on the seventeenth to reenforce those who had arrived before. They came from the shores of Lake Michigan and were closely associated with their neighbors, the Ottawas and Chippewas, who had long been in close contact with the French and British at Detroit and were inclined to be suspicious of the Americans.

Some of the principal villages of the "three fires" composing this remote confederation were located at Michilimackinac (Mackinac straits)—the gateway of the upper lakes. By the devious water route this was estimated at four hundred miles from Detroit. Thus the journey to Greene Ville, if taken by canoe across Lake Erie and up the Maumee and St. Marys rivers, must have taken about a month for these remote delegates.

New Corn, one of their venerable chiefs, stated that the young men of his tribe had "thrown off the British, and henceforth will view the Americans as their only true friends." These fierce tribes clung to the region of the upper lakes, around which their descendents still linger. On account of their relative isolation and the friendly attitude of the Canadians they had fared better than the tribes of the Ohio valley, who bore the brunt of white aggression and were decimated by the contact, and finally forced to remoter regions. "Watchful waiting" describes the attitude of the Commander-in-Chief as scattered delegations made their appearance and asked for provisions and refreshments, which were soon gladly given them. On June 21 Buck-on-ge-he-las, a noted chief of the Dalawares, who was destined to take a very active part in the coming meetings, and Asi-me-the with a delegation of Pottawat-tomies arrived and were formally received. Tetabokshke made a brief speech and was followed by Asimethe, who concluded a conciliatory speech by saying: "You see us all here. You sent for us. The remainder of us are dead, or incapable of coming to see you. In compliance with your requisition for the surrender of prisoners, and as proof of our sincere wishes for peace, I now present you two—all who are in our possession."

## THE GENERAL RESPONDS

Following this terse speech, the General arose and replied: "Brothers, I take you all by the hand, and welcome you to Greene Ville. The great council-fire has already been kindled, and the calumet of peace has been smoked, by the different nations who are here. The old chief, Te-ta-boksh-ke, has witnessed, and joined in the solemn act, in the presence of the Great Spirit.

"We have raked up the fire, until the chiefs generally assemble. Last night, I had accounts from the Wyandots of Sandusky and Detroit, and all

the Indians in that quarter. This day they rise upon their feet to come and join in council with us. The roads being all clear, they will arrive without difficulty in ten days. We will then add fresh wood to our fire, whose pure flame shall be seen from the rising to the setting sun. We will postpone entering on business until that period.

"In the meantime, I will give you, my brothers, what will make your hearts glad. I have already given wampum to all the tribes present. I now present you with a little more, to evince that my mind and heart are always the same." (Wampum.)

## WAMPUM LANGUAGE

Reference has been made to the symbolic pipe of peace, the council-house, the council fire, and the use of figurative language to convey, or disguise, thought, as distinctive accompaniments of the early treaties with the Indians. Of equal significance with these features was the use of "wampum belts" to impress indelibly the desired points embodied in the message of the council speaker. These belts were usually made of tubular shell beads, strung into strings about eighteen inches in length, and skillfully woven by the women into plain or figured rectangular bands three or four inches wide and a yard long. A peace belt might be twice this size. The beads were originally cut from either sea or mussel shells and were about an eighth of an inch in diameter and twice as long, with a hole drilled through the length by slender flint drills. This was a very slow and laborious process delegated to certain skilled workmen, and was later supplanted by the purchase, through trade, of beads made in Europe, or by the use of metal drills. This improved process made it possible for the white traders to make enormous profits in their traffic in beads, as they always did in the fur trade and all of their transactions with the unsophisticated barbarians. As the wampum shells were mostly white, with some shading into various tints of purple, these were the two colors generally used to convey the desired messages, using white as the background and the violet for outlining figures. Other desired tints were secured by staining. To the prosaic white man it seemed marvelous what fine shades of meaning these belts conveyed to the savage mind.

Plain white was considered auspicious, signifying peace, health, or prosperity of some kind; while violet was looked upon as signifying hostility, war, sorrow, death or disaster. In order to make the message plain, figures were often woven into the belts, in the form of squares, diamonds, parallel lines, trees, houses, animals, or human beings. An impressive design used at peace conferences, showed two men holding a chain of friendship between them, while a war belt might be woven with a dark background with a white hatchet in the center.

A "road-belt," with two parallel lines of dark beads bordering white shell beads, signified that the road was clear between the tribes; a peace belt might be as much as six feet long and five or six inches wide. The big speech belt, emphasizing the main gist of the message, was handed over to the keeper of the archives when the speaker finally announced that he was done. If the belt was passed around during the oration it was a sign of favorable reception; if, however, the chief refused to receive the belt by shoving it away with a stick, it was considered unacceptable and must be taken back. The exchange of belts between negotiators was often accompanied with the expression: *This belt preserves our words.*"



Before going to a peace council the chief, or his messenger, was carefully instructed in the meaning of various belts and the most proper way in which to deliver his message. Although unable to read or write they were forced to depend upon their memories, which thereby became developed to a remarkable degree.

Sometimes a separate string, or belt, of wampum was given by the speaker to the chief as soon as he finished a point in his long harangue. The chief, or keeper of the archives, deposited these, or copies of former treaties and other valuable documents, in the council bag, which constituted the archives of the tribe, or confederation.

## INFLUENTIAL MIAMIS ARRIVE

In the group of nineteen Miamis who arrived June 23, were included Le Gris and the Little Turtle, the latter of whom was distinguished because he had been associated with Blue Jacket in leading the Indians in the battle against St. Clair on the Wabash, and had won a reputation for other successful raids against the whites. However, he was a wise man and saw the rising power of the Americans and decided to use the power of his personality to promote peace. As was seen later he took a leading part in the peace parleys. These men were at the head of a powerful confederation of related tribes which included the Tawas, Weas, Pinakeshaws, Eel River and Miamis proper and were all included in the Miami nation. They had lived on the upper waters of the Wabash, the Maumee and the Great Miami "from time immemorial" and formerly claimed all of the lands from the Scioto to the Wabash and from the Ohio to the St. Joseph river of Lake Michigan, now comprising the state of Indiana, the western half of Ohio, and the southern part of Michigan. The Kickapoos and Kaskaskias also affiliated with these tribes. Le Gris spoke briefly as he wished to establish his camp and assured the General that the Miamis were friendly and desired peace. Wayne exchanged greetings and stated: "The council-fire was kindled in this house, on the first day of the moon (probably explaining why it was lighted on that particular date). We covered it up, and have preserved it clear, waiting for your arrival, and the appearance of our brothers, the Wyandots, Shawanese, and a part of the Five Nations, among us; they are now three days on their way hither. I will not detain you; you must require rest, and I will order you to be provided with proper refreshments. This belt testifies the sincerity of the welcome with which I receive you." (A belt.)

## THE FIRE WORKS EXPLODE

A meeting was called on the 25th to clear up some matters that had caused complaints and to allay the suspicions of the Indians due to the premature explosion of some fire-works stored in advance for a Fourth of July celebration. No doubt the first group of Indians who arrived had selected the best camp sites and as the others came on they had difficulty in finding accommodations. To relieve this situation the Commander-in-Chief said to them: "I now give you up my exterior redoubts, to accommodate the different nations with council houses. My people have all come in from them, and you will allot them among you as you think proper." This statement clears up a mystery which has puzzled students of frontier history heretofore. The map of the ground plan of Fort Greene Ville, prepared by James



McBride early in the nineteenth century, when the outline could still be traced, showed four block-houses, one located at each corner. "The exterior redoubts" evidently refer to the eight temporary blockhouses built to protect the camp while the fort was being built, as mentioned in Bradley's Journal.

Wayne now requested the Indians to retire to their quarters upon the firing of the evening gun, and to report any young men who might be troubling camp after that hour. This was intended to preserve good order and safety. The sounding of an alarm and the parading of the soldiers on the day before, evidently had aroused fear and suspicion among the Indians camped under the guns of the frowning fort. In order to allay their fears the General said:

"I will now explain what yesterday might have had a strange appearance. It is a standing rule, in all our armies, upon any alarm, or accident, whatever, for our warriors to repair, instantly, to their posts. I mention this to you to prevent, for the future, any misapprehensions. It is by my invitation you are here; and I stand pledged for your safety and security. It is our practice to parade our men morning and evening, and call every man by his name. An accident occurred yesterday, in the explosion of some of our fireworks. It will have no other effect than to delay for a few days the exhibition intended for the Fourth of July, the anniversary of the independence of America. I have nothing more to mention to you at this time. I call you together merely to acquaint you with these things, to repeat my sentiments of regard, and my care for you; and to assure you again that you may rest as easy and are as safe here as if you were in your own villages. The council-fire remains covered till the arrival of the rest of our brothers. General Washington and his great council have sent you large presents, the arrival of which I expect about the same time. Your friends Onas, the Quakers, have also sent you a message, and some small presents, as a token of their regard for you." This speech eased the fears of the Indians, who voiced their approval and called forth further assurances from the General.

Thirty-four Chippewas and Pottawatomies arrived on June 26, and Michimang, of the latter tribe, assured Wayne that they rose to come and see him as soon as they received his message. This suggests that Wayne may have had some misgivings about the response of some distant groups of certain northern tribes.

586687

### THE CHIEFS ASK SPECIAL FAVORS

On June 30, the chiefs were called together at their own request. No doubt they had been conferring together about their allowances of food and drink and felt that there was some failure or discrimination in this matter.

### A PATRIOTIC APPEAL

The near approach of the Fourth of July suggested that Wayne call the chiefs together to explain the meaning of the celebration scheduled for the morrow. Accordingly, on the 3rd of July he spoke to them as follows: "Brothers, I take you all by the hand, with that strong hold with which brothers ought to salute each other. Tomorrow will be the anniversary of the day which gave peace, happiness, and independence to America—tomorrow all the people of the fifteen fires, with shouts of joy and peals of artillery, will celebrate the period which gave them freedom. States already hailed

the return of that auspicious morn. Tomorrow we shall, for the twentieth time, salute the return of that happy day, rendered still more dear by the brotherly union between the Americans and the red people. Tomorrow, all the people within these lines will rejoice. You, my brethren, shall also rejoice in your respective encampments.

"I call you together to explain these matters. Do not therefore be alarmed at the report of our big guns. They will do no harm—they will be the harbingers of peace and gladness, and their roar will ascend into the heavens. The flag of the United States, and the colors of this Legion shall be given to the wind, to be fanned by its gentle breeze, in honor of the birth-day of American freedom. I will now show you our colors, that you may know them tomorrow. Formerly they were displayed as ensigns of war and battle; now they will be exhibited as emblems of peace and happiness. The eagle, you see, holds his arrows close, while he stretches forth, as a more valuable offering, the olive branch of peace. The Great Spirit seems disposed to incline us all, for the future, to repose under its grateful shade and wisely enjoy the blessings which attend it."

## THE GLORIOUS FOURTH

Although the official account makes little mention of the detailed doings on the Fourth of July, no doubt, Wayne carried out the announced program with additional features. The enthusiasm among the soldiers can well be imagined as it was only twelve years since the signing of the Treaty of Paris, ending the Revolutionary war, in which Wayne and some of his prominent officers had taken a leading part.

On this day A-goosh-a-way and twenty-three Ottawas arrived, having come from the neighborhood of Detroit. Wayne gave them a brief, but hearty, welcome, knowing that they were tired from their long journey, and ordered refreshments of food and drink. Agoosh-away expressed his belief that the nations not now represented would not come to the gathering, especially the Shawanese and Wyandots living about Detroit, stating further: "I frequently told them they ought to advance without hesitation; but they still continue irresolute, and hover around their enemies, the British. I cannot discover the motives which actuate the Wyandots."

Tar-he and Leather Lips were two of their most influential chiefs and they were destined to play an important part in the later negotiations, where they would be acknowledged as "Father" by the other tribes, and the "keeper of the calumet," which united the tribes in a great confederacy and carried the right to kindle the council fire when the tribes met in general session. As noted, Agoshaway had expressed himself as being skeptical about their arrival, when he arrived with the Ottawas on the 4th.

## A SERMON ON PEACE

The routine of camp life had recently been enriched by the arrival of a traveling missionary in the person of one Rev. Morgan John Rhys (Rhees), a fit forerunner of the wave of mounted circuit-riders who brought religion to the pioneers of the coming generation. Rev. Rhys was known as "the Welsh Baptist Hero of Civil and Religious Liberty." He had come from Wales to New York City, in 1794, following the revolutions in France and his own country, in which he was sympathetically involved. A large number



of families soon followed him for the purpose of founding a strong Welsh settlement in some convenient and strategic location on the expanding American frontier. Rev. Rhys had left New York on October 12, 1794, and had proceeded by horseback to Philadelphia, Washington, Richmond, Charleston and on to Savannah. Turning north, about March 1, 1795, he proceeded to Augusta (Ga.) and discovered that the people of this region were hauling their personal property over the mountains to Kentucky, in order to get within striking distance of the new Northwest Territory as soon as the Indian wars were over. These families were largely of the Baptist, Quaker and Presbyterian faiths, determined to settle in a new country free from the curse of slavery, against which they had strong conscientious scruples.

Although the roads and paths which he followed were usually rough and stony, he rode an average of about twenty-five miles a day. He now proceeded on his way to Kentucky, crossed the Ohio at Cincinnati, and followed Wayne's recently cut road through the black forest to Greene Ville, where he found the Indians gathering from near and far to take part in the prospective treaty with the Americans. Although the Rev. David Jones was the regular army chaplain, Rev. Rhys was invited to address the assembled officers, including Gen. Wayne, and the Indians, on Saturday, July 4th, on which occasion he delivered an appropriate patriotic address, to a good sized group in the council-house. This talk must have been acceptable for he was also invited to preach on Sunday, July 5th, on which occasion he delivered an appropriate sermon to several hundred Indians and soldiers, entitled, "The Altar of Peace," based on the book of Judges 6:24:—"Then Gideon built an altar there unto the Lord, and called it Je-ho-vah-sha-lom (i. e., the Lord give Peace)."

This sermon was a strong plea for peace, founded on love, and was especially fitting as the peace negotiations were then at a very critical point, due to the slow arrival of some of the Indians from the Detroit area, who were held back by the British agents, and the confederated tribes of the far region of Michilimackinac.

During the few remaining days of his sojourn at Greene Ville the virile preacher visited the various groups of Indian tribal representatives, at their separate encampments along the creek and at convenient sites outside the pickets, and concluded that some of them were really more religious than the white people. He also decided that they would be our friends if properly treated.

Rev. Rhys desired to return to the east by way of Detroit and the lakes but was hindered "by the hateful conduct of some of the officers of Old England." Accordingly, he left Greene Ville on July 10, turned back on the trail through Cincinnati and Lexington and found the country being rapidly settled and improved in the blue grass region. At Crab Orchard, however, he joined a party of horsemen forming to go through the wilderness together for the sake of safety. He now proceeded to the Shenandoah valley and turned northward again to New York, where he arrived on Sept. 4. He remained in America, became an influential preacher and educator, and organized a society aimed to acquaint the Indians with the plow, the loom, the forge, improved live-stock and useful metals. He desired to establish a colony of freedom-loving Welshmen in the new Northwest and did make such an attempt in western Pennsylvania, founding a town called Beulah, in Cambria county, which was later abandoned. He became a pioneer in the



establishment of Sunday Schools but his active career was cut short by his death on Dec. 7, 1804, in the height of a promising career.

### WISE COUNSEL PREVAILS

This was the situation when Wayne called the attending chiefs in council on the 9th, and said: "Younger Brothers! I take you by the hand and welcome you to this council fire. Viewing the number of nations who last winter signed the preliminary articles, I perceive all are present, except the Wyandots of Sandusky and the Shawanese. It is now twenty-five days since the council fire was kindled at this place. It has continued to burn bright, and it has happily dissipated the clouds which have hung over the people of Sandusky. They now see that the sky is clear and serene; that the roads are open and free of thorns. Four runners arrived from them last evening to announce to me the near approach of all the chiefs of the Wyandots and others of Sandusky. The intelligence which these messengers have brought me is this: that the dark cloud which enveloped the Shawanese in the neighborhood of the British posts (for that, my brothers, is a very cloudy place) has also been dispelled; that they have, at length, awoke from their intoxicated slumber, and are now on their feet, coming to this place. They, and the Wyandots, etc., of Sandusky may be expected to arrive here in the course of three days. The question then is: shall we now name the day on which to begin the great and good work, or shall we wait the arrival of those chiefs, and have their united voice on the subject. This is all I shall propose at present, until I hear your respective opinions." That Wayne again proved a diplomat is shown by the friendly response of Little Turtle and Agooshaway, who agreed that it would be wise to await the arrival of the delinquent tribes. Wayne then closed the council by saying: "Younger Brothers! Twenty-five days ago the calumet of peace of the fifteen fires of the United States was smoked in this house. It did not then speak, and it yet remains silent. I am pleased to hear you all concur in opinion with the Little Turtle that we should await the arrival of our brothers, the Wyandots and Shawanese. I therefore propose that we shall meet again at this place on Monday next." (A white string to each nation present.) The council then adjourned as proposed. The Wyandots arrived on Sunday, the 12th, and were issued twenty pounds of flour and beef and three pints of whiskey, and requested postponement of the council to the 15th.

The diary of Rev. Rhys throws some light on the situation among the Indians who had arrived at the time of his visit to the encampment. On July 6th, he notes: "Spent the evening in the council-house. The dispute ran principally on prejudice, concerning colour, ceremonies, etc. The poor Chaplain Jones was, I think, well roasted. I would not dictate for another man, but were I in his room I would perform my duty more closely. I would at least preach unto them every Sunday and leave the rest to God."

On the 7th he remarks: "Morning ride around the Indian camps, where I had an opportunity of seeing the sable race lying in their tent. Many I believe are gone, and no fresh arrivals according to expectation—no good omen for peace. Visited the haymakers on the prairies. Nature has done everything for this part of the world. The hay is rather coarse, but the quantity is above calculation. The advantage of brains to new settlers must be 10 to 1, at least for the first years. God has surely designed to populate the western world and establish His throne in the hearts of the inhabitants."

## WAITING FOR THE WYANDOTS

When Wayne called the chiefs in council on July 9, it was noted that the Shawanese and Wyandots had not yet arrived. These were the restive tribes who had not overcome the influence of the British. The Shawanese were naturally active, aggressive and warlike and continued more or less hostile until after the War of 1812, being influenced in this last conflict by Tecumtah and his brother, "The Prophet." The Wyandots were a virile and influential tribe, who had formerly been driven from their home in the St. Lawrence valley by the Huron Iroquois, had migrated westward around the upper lakes and were now settled in the Sandusky valley and along the adjacent shore of Lake Erie. They had suffered keenly in the battle of the Rapids, where they were said to have had twelve warriors killed, and were smarting from defeat.

## BASIS FOR TREATY PROPOSED

Wednesday, July 15th, 1795, marks a decidedly forward step in the treaty negotiations within the council-house. It completes one month of parleys and conferences during which little had been accomplished except to locate the arriving Indian delegations on their respective camp sites, outside of the stockade; to supply them with food and drink, and put their minds at ease with reference to the friendly attitude of Wayne and the garrison inside the frowning and formidable stockade. Sufficient time had elapsed to show even the most hostile and belligerent tribes that the Americans were not as unreasonable and unfriendly as they had been represented to be by Simon Girty, Alexander McKee, and Mathew Elliott, the disgruntled frontiersmen who had spread hatred and suspicion among them for several years. The delayed arrival of some of the more distant delegations was proving beneficial by giving those present a sufficient opportunity to enjoy the hospitality and learn the humane disposition the Americans, under the wise leadership of the Commander-in-Chief, whom they were learning to appreciate and admire. The apparent confidence of Wayne in the coming of the more skeptical delegations also tended to strengthen their morale and give them greater confidence in the success of the negotiations under his able leadership.

Accordingly, the council met agreeable to postponed arrangement with a good representation present. The council-fire was again uncovered and the interpreters sworn in, upon which General Wayne addressed the assembled chiefs as follows: Younger Brothers! These interpreters whom you have now seen sworn, have called the Great Spirit to witness that they will faithfully interpret all the speeches made by me to you, and by you to me; and the Great Spirit will punish them severely hereafter, if they do not religiously fulfill their sacred promise."

"Younger Brothers! All the chiefs and warriors of the different nations present! I now take you by the hand. It was my wish to have waited for the arrival of the Shawanees, Wyandots of Detroit, and some Chippeways, who, I learn, are on their way; but as it is the desire of the chiefs present to commence the business generally, I will now show them by what authority I hold this treaty.

"Treaties made by all nations on this earth, ought to be held sacred and binding, between the contracting parties; hence, it is the practice to commission certain persons with powers to make and conclude stipulated treaties accordingly. These books contain treaties which have been held with all the Indian nations, in North America, and show what has been said and done at each, without the smallest alteration. In the first place, this is a commission, appointing me Commander-in-Chief of the American Legion, presented to me by General Washington and the fifteen fires, three years since.

"On the 4th day of April, 1794, I received a commission from the same



authority for settling a peace with all the tribes of Indians northwest of the Ohio." (Here the General read the renewal of his powers as Commissioner to treat with the Indians.)

"Having thus produced my authority given me by General Washington, and the fifteen fires, (U.S.A.) I will now proceed to review the preliminary articles, which we mutually entered and exchanged during the past winter.

"Younger Brothers! Open your ears, and listen to the questions asked me by the Wyandots of Sandusky, on the 26th of September last. This was the voice of the Wyandots and other tribes of Sandusky. 'Brother! Bring forth from the bottom of your heart your sentiments respecting making a definite treaty of peace, and upon what terms. We shall deliver our prayers daily to the Great Spirit above, our Maker, that he will open your hearts and sentiments to us.' That was a strong and serious question upon which the happiness of the United States and the Indian nations mutually depended. The answer made to that question required some explanations which are tedious, and do not seem at present necessary to be repeated, but I will read that part which explains the principles upon which a peace could take place.

"'Brother! You desire me to bring forth from the bottom of my heart, my sentiments respecting a peace, and upon what terms it could be obtained.

"'Brother! I now call upon you to exert your utmost powers of attention, and listen to what I shall say to you. It is now six years since the chiefs of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippeways, Pottawattamies and Sac nations, concluded a treaty at the mouth of the Muskingum with Governor St. Clair, for removing all causes of controversy, and settling the boundaries between them and the United States. That treaty appeared to be founded upon the principles of equity and justice, and to be perfectly satisfactory to all parties at the time. I therefore propose that treaty as a foundation for a lasting treaty of peace, between the United States and all your nations of Indians. Should you have any well grounded objections to these principles and to this proposition, come forward and speak your minds freely; and rest assured of a sincere welcome, and safe conduct, in coming hither and returning to your homes, from your friend and brother, Anthony Wayne.'

"This was my answer to the Wyandots. They are here present, and can testify to the truth of it. In consequence of this answer, the Ottawas, Chippeways, Pottawattamies, Saukeys, Miamies, Delawares, and Shawanese came forward and signed these preliminary articles, of which you have all, respectively copies. Having now shown you that I stand here in the place of General Washington, and represent the fifteen fires of America, and having shown the manner in which this happy meeting came about, by an application, first from the Wyandots whose good example was followed by the other nations, I shall forbear to say more, as the day is far spent, but request you to consider what I have said.

"Brothers! I wish you all clearly to understand that we have progressed so far in the good work, as to explain these preliminary steps. I would advise you to appropriate two or three days to revolve, coolly and attentively, these matters, and those which will naturally follow them. I take you all by the hand. We will now rake up the council-fire, and as we have talked a long time, we must be dry, and have a little drink." The council thereupon adjourned.

From the various references to drink allowances it might be inferred that much liquor was consumed during the treaty negotiations. However, Wayne well knew the Indians' propensity for strong drink and restricted the amount issued to them accordingly. It is well known, however, that the later frontier tavern and store keepers were not so conscientious, but sold them large quantities, which, with contagious diseases and immorality, caused largely by intimate contact with dissolute white bordermen, hastened their demoralization and downfall within the next generation.



## Chapter III

### THE BIG CHIEFS SPEAK

THE council called on Saturday, July 18, proved to be illuminating as it revealed the seeming ignorance and the unfriendly attitude of some of the chiefs in reference to the treaty held at Fort Harmar in January, 1789. As the Shawanese and the Miamis, with related tribes, on the Wabash, were not parties to this pact, they were especially anxious to have it explained. Little Turtle, the able and aggressive head of the Miami nation, voiced the sentiment of these tribes when he spoke in heated terms, saying: "Brother! We have heard and considered what you have said to us. You have shown, and we have seen, your powers to treat with us. I came here for the purpose of hearing you. I suppose it to be your wish that peace should take place throughout the world. When we hear you say so, we will be prepared to answer you. You have told me that the present treaty should be founded upon that of Muskingum. I beg leave to observe to you, that that treaty was effected, altogether, by the Six Nations, who seduced some of our young men to attend it, together with a few of the Chippeways, Wyandots, Ottawas, Delawares, and Pottawattamies. I beg leave to tell you, that I am entirely ignorant of what was in that treaty. I hope those who held it, may give you their opinions, whether or not, it was agreeable to them."

Following this frank and pointed address, The Sun made a friendly speech and presented to Wayne, as a personal gift, a road-belt, with the eagle of the United States attached.

Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, who had attended the preliminary conference in January, now reminded the General that he had found the gates open when he came and had returned with the chiefs of his associated tribes, as promised, and finished by saying: "Here are the chiefs of the Ottawas, Chippeways, and Pottawattamies. We are the faithful allies, and one of us speaks for the whole, when in council. The words you spoke last winter are fresh in my memory. I know nothing of the treaty in question, which took place at Muskingum.

"The people who made it are present, and will be able to speak to it. My remote situation on Lake Michigan prevented me from being acquainted with it."

Tarhe (The Crane), chief of the Wyandots, arose and expressed himself as follows: "Brothers of all nations present, listen! Elder Brother! I don't think it proper to select any particular nation to speak for the whole. You have kindled the council-fire. I wish you to determine what nation shall speak, and appoint a day when we shall all be collected, and when those who are on their way shall have joined us."

### WAYNE EXTENDS DISCUSSION

Seeing the confusion and apparent lack of harmony and understanding with reference to the treaty negotiations at Fort Harmar, in January, 1789, conducted by Governor St. Clair, Wayne arose and said: "Brothers! I have paid very great attention to what has been observed by the Miamis, Pottawattamies, Chippeways, and Wyandots, and the day after tomorrow, I will endeavor to explain fully the treaty of Muskingum, of which so many plead ignorance. I will bring to the recollection of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippeways, Pottawattamies and Sac nations, what they did at

that treaty, and show them anew their names who witness it. There are some Chippeways approaching who perhaps were at the treaty, and when I look around me, I imagine I see some faces who were present at it. This road (alluding to The Sun's road belt) is the true road. I have a branch similar to this, at my breast; I know them to be of the same tree, and of equal value. This is all I shall say at present. I thank the Great Spirit for assembling so many of us together on this good work, and I hope we shall have all things perfectly understood and explained to our mutual satisfaction before we part." Under these conditions the council adjourned until the 20th.

## OUTSIDE PRESSURE REVEALED

In the evening of the 18th some important additions were made to the body of delegates by the arrival of Massas, with twenty Chippeways and Blue Jacket, with thirteen Shawanese. They were received into the council-house and made some important, but not surprising, statements about the interference of some British agents, and Joseph Brant, the educated and diplomatic chief of the Mohawks. Massas spoke frankly saying: "I am happy to be here this day. I was at the treaty of Muskingum, and have it now in my hand to show it to you. Nothing but my having it in my possession could have brought me here at this time, for I came voluntarily and unasked. We should have come in great numbers but for Brandt's endeavors to prevent us. The Wyandots and Six Nations are counseling. I do not know what may be the result of their conference. I am happy to find so many of my brothers with you. I hope for the future they will walk in the right way and be sincere in their engagements. I again repeat my knowledge of the treaty of Muskingum. As far as I understand it, I have been faithful to it.

"I have brought these Frenchmen with me that I may be as well acquainted with everything that shall take place. This is all I have to say at present. Having traveled far I am fatigued and require refreshment." (A white string.)

## BLUE JACKET SPEAKS

It is interesting to note that some of the most influential chiefs, who had led in recent hostilities against the Americans, were welcomed to the treaty negotiations. Among these were Little Turtle, Blue Jacket and Bu-kon-ge-he-las, who had been very active in organizing the tribes just after Harmar's campaign. Wayne realized the necessity of winning over these recognized leaders and used his influence to have them present. Accordingly, he was interested in hearing whatever they had to say, on any occasion, and listened attentively when Blue Jacket arose at the evening session of the council and said: "Brother! When I came here last winter I did not mean to deceive you; what I promised you I did intend to perform. My wish to conclude a firm peace with you being sincere, my uneasiness has been great, that my people have not come forward so soon as you would wish or might expect; but you must not be discouraged by these unfavorable appearances. Some of our chiefs and warriors are here; more will arrive in a few days. You must not however expect to see a great number, yet notwithstanding, our nation will be represented. Our hearts are open and void of deceit.

## WAYNE RESPONDS

In reply to these speeches Wayne spoke as follows: "Brother, the Chippeway! I am happy to see you and your people. The open and generous manner in which you have acknowledged being present at, and acquainted with, the treaty of Muskingum, displays an honest, open, manly heart. I therefore take you by the hand, with warmth and friendship of a brother. I know you have come a great way—provision shall be furnished you and your people, to appease your hunger; and you shall have some liquor also,



to quench your thirst, and to enable you to rejoice with your friends and brothers present." To Blue Jacket and his Shawanese he also said: "Brother, the Shawanese! I am well convinced of the integrity of your heart, and that your exertions have not been wanting to bring hither a full representation of your nation, at an early hour. I therefore bid you, and my friends with you, a sincere welcome."

## A REVEALING CONFERENCE

Wayne was further enlightened in a private conference with Blue Jacket on the 19th, when he said: "Brother and Ally! It is a long time since I left you. I believe it is about five months. Many things have occurred since that time, which I will inform you of, as you may be unacquainted with them. I visited the British, and was kindly received at their garrison, on the Miami (Maumee). I was asked for news; I had none for them, except that of my kind reception from you. Mr. Magdalen wrote from thence to Detroit, that he had taken off my blue coat, which I had received from the Americans, and broke my gun, which he also falsely said was presented to me by General Wayne.

## WAYNE EXPLAINS FORMER TREATIES

On Monday, July 20th, the council-fire was stirred again and a very important session held. Considering all of the transactions, it might be considered one of the most important and decisive days of the conference and the turning point in the peace negotiations, as Wayne, on this occasion, made a careful detailed explanation of the last two treaties, which he proposed as a basis for a lasting and satisfactory peace. Besides the delegates who had attended the former sessions the presence of representatives from the Shawanese and Chippeways who had arrived on the evening of the 18th, was noted. Wayne sensed the importance of the situation when he arose and said:

"Brothers of all the nations present! I take you by the hand. When we were last in council, two days since, the Little Turtle observed—'We came with an intention to hear you—we expect your wish is for peace with all the world—we would be glad to hear your sentiments upon the subject.'"

"I did hope and expect that every man among you would be perfectly acquainted with my sentiments on this subject, as I have for a long time past taken pains to diffuse them throughout your nations. I will read you a message, which I sent amongst you by Mr. Miller, now present, on the 13th of August last, and which I am persuaded, from the best authority, had been fully explained to you and perfectly understood by your chiefs and warriors." (Here the General read his message of the 13th, which he had sent from Fort Defiance to the tribes gathered at the foot of the Maumee rapids, proposing peace. The Indians, probably under the influence and pressure of the British officers of nearby Fort Miami, proposed delay for negotiations, expecting thereby to forestall the Americans. It is said that Little Turtle, on this occasion, made a strong appeal to accept Wayne's proposals but was ridiculed by other influential chiefs who wanted to fight. The result of the battle proved Little Turtle's sagacity and increased his prestige among the tribes.

## THE VOICE OF PEACE

In order to show that the Americans had maintained a peaceful disposition Wayne now proceeded to say: "I likewise told you that the ears and the heart of the President, General Washington, were ever opened to the voice of peace, and that he had instructed me, his principal warrior, to listen to that voice, from whatever quarter it might come, provided it came from proper authority and from the heart."



"Six moons since, the Crane (Wyandots) and a number of Chippeways, Ottawas and Sacs, came here in consequence of this invitation. They were also accompanied by the Miamies. I received them with great pleasure and informed them that I thanked the Great Spirit for opening their eyes to see, and their ears to hear the happy dawn of peace. . . . I told them that peace was like the glorious sun, which diffused joy, health and happiness to all the nations of this earth who had wisdom to embrace it, and that I, therefore, in behalf, and in the name of, the President of the United States of America, took them all by the hand, with that strong hold of friendship which time could never break.

"These have been the sentiments of my heart with regard to peace, and I think may be considered as a full answer to the wishes expressed by the Little Turtle. To prove that my sentiments are still the same, I present to Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, and to the Little Turtle, these strings of wampum, which are not purer nor whiter than the heart that gives them. These will be considered as presented to the whole, for the same purpose." (White wampum to the Chippeways and Miamies.)

"The Little Turtle observes, 'You have informed us that the treaty of Muskingum shall be the foundation on which the present treaty shall be founded. That treaty was held by the Six Nations, and by a few young men of the Chippeways, Ottawas, and Pottawattamies. We Miamies and Wabash tribes are totally unacquainted with it.'

"And Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish has also remarked that the Ottawas, Chippeways, and Pottawattamies knew nothing of the treaty—that it had never reached as far as Michilimackinac.

"Younger Brothers! In order to refreshen your memories, and to bring every article of that treaty fully to your recollection, I will now read and explain it to you. These are the articles of that treaty, made more than six years ago, between the United States of America and the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawas, Chippeways, Pottawattamies and Saucekeys (Pore he read and explained the treaty of Fort Harmar, made in 1789.)

"Younger Brothers! You have now heard the treaty of the Muskingum read and explained to you. It has been for more than six years well understood by many of the chiefs, now present, of those nations who concluded it. And I am persuaded that those who were present, and those who signed it, will have candor sufficient, when they hear their names called, to acknowledge it as their act and deed, as Massas has freely and sincerely done, the day before yesterday; by which he proved himself to be possessed of a manly and undisguised heart.

"Younger Brothers! I have now fully explained to you the treaty of Fort McIntosh, which was concluded ten years ago, and the treaty of Muskingum, which took place six years since. The boundaries agreed on by the former are the same that are stipulated by the latter. I have also pointed out a number of chiefs in this house who were present at and signed those treaties. As I have refreshed their memories in this manner and read them a few passages of their own speeches and proceedings on those occasions it is probable they will be able to inform you of everything relating thereto, and give you full satisfaction on the subject. I have no more to say at present. I wish you to consider well what I have said to you, that we may be enabled to form a treaty that shall continue unbroken, as long as the woods grow and waters run. Think seriously on the great business before you. Consult among yourselves, and when we meet again, speak your thoughts freely. I am persuaded we shall agree in opinion, and when we return home, all nations will have cause to rejoice in the good work we have been doing."

#### DIVERGENT CLAIMS MADE

At the meeting of the council on Tuesday, July 21st, some startling statements were made and grievances frankly set forth, which would require

time and deliberation to reconcile, while some of the Indians were getting anxious to conclude negotiations and return to their distant homes. We see here the primitive human instincts revealed which are common to all races and nations, and have a sympathetic understanding of the problems which confronted the scattered tribes of the Old Northwest at this very critical period, when the breaking up of their tribal life was threatened by the advancing Americans. It took diplomatic skill to steer the boat of state through the stormy waters of this crisis and it will be revealed how Wayne was equal to this task and overcame the obstacles and solved the complicated problems presented.

## THE "THREE FIRES" BURY THE HATCHET

The session of July 21st was very important as it marked the turning point towards peace. Massas played an important role on this occasion, setting a noble example for the more refractory tribes to follow. Because of its importance and far-reaching influence his address is quoted at length herewith:

"Elder Brother! I have heard what you said yesterday, and I know it to be the same that was said at the treaty of Muskingum. I remember it perfectly well, and thought whilst I heard you speak it, that it was again renewed. My eyes were open, and I listened with attention.

"Elder Brother! I now address myself to you. You see the fire kindled at Muskingum. I now tell you that some words of that treaty we did not perfectly understand at the time we made it. The Wyandots were foremost at that treaty; we, the three fires, follow them. You there told us that it was not in your name that you treated, but in behalf of the thirteen fires which lie along the great water. You told us you would throw the tomahawk into the river, but you know the waters in our woods are not deep, and some foolish young men have had arms long enough to reach the bottom and again take it out. This day we will try to wipe away their bad actions and to open their hearts to the voice of peace.

"Elder Brother! I live at the gate leading to all those nations, and to the Potawattamies, and those living in the prairies, and we, the three fires, will do our utmost to bury the hatchet so deep that it can never be found, for it is this hatchet which has reduced us to misery and wretchedness. I tell you this as the true sentiments of the three nations, for whom I speak. I cannot answer for the others.

"Elder Brother! You see the wampum I hold is small. Our three fires, it would appear, are also small, as the other nations have often told you. They have also told you that they were masters of the Ottawas, Chippeways, and Pottawattamies, and of their territory.

"Notwithstanding I am so small a man, I do now, in the name of the three nations, throw the hatchet into the middle of the great lake, where it will be so covered, as never to be again found so long as white people and Indians live.

"Elder Brother! This is all these three fires and the tribe of the Little Turtle, who unites us in sentiment, have at present to say. The hatchet is now buried forever, and we now expect your assistance. Your officers and our warriors are now around us. Let us join sincerely in making a solid and lasting peace. Peace with our three fires is now established." (A string of blue and white wampum.)

"Elder Brother! You do not forget any of your words, and I show you this belt which you gave a great many years ago to Wassung, one of our nation. You told him at that time that upon this road he should always come and see you—that he would always find it free from thorns." (Presented a roadbelt.)

"Elder Brother! When you yesterday read to us the treaty of Muskingum, I understood you clearly. At that treaty we had no good interpreters



and we were left partly unacquainted with many particulars of it. I was surprised when I heard your voice, through a good interpreter, say that we had received presents and compensation for those lands which were thereby ceded. I tell you now that we, the three fires, never were informed of it. If our uncles, the Wyandots, and grandfathers, the Delawares, have received such presents, they have kept them to themselves. I always thought that we, the Ottawas, Chippeways, and Pottawattamies, were true owners of those lands; but now I find that the new masters have undertaken to dispose of them; so that at this day we do not know to whom they of right belong. We never received any compensation for them. I don't know how it is, but ever since that treaty we have become objects of pity, and our fires have been retiring from this country. Now, elder brother, you see we are objects of compassion. Have pity on our weakness and misfortunes; and since you have purchased these lands, we cede them to you; they are yours. Perhaps at a future day your younger brothers may be made happy by becoming your children, should you extend to us your paternal protection. This is all your younger brothers, the three fires, have to say to you, our elder brother. Now the great men will address you."

Tarhe, the Crane, the venerable and intelligent chief of the Wyandots, then spoke in reply: "Brothers of the fifteen fires, listen! And you, my nephews, the Delawares and Six Nations, younger brothers, Shawanees and Miamies, and elder brothers, Ottawas, Chippeways, and Pottawattamies, we are here assembled this day in the presence of God above. Brothers, Americans! Our brothers, the Ottawas, Chippeways, and Pottawattamies, have related to you a little of what happened at the treaty of Muskingum and observe that we have sold the lands to you without their consent or knowledge. However, elder brother, I hope you will explain to them how the country was first disposed of into your hands."

### THE LITTLE TURTLE ASKS ONE QUESTION

This speech brought the Little Turtle to his feet with this question: "Elder Brother! I wish to ask you and my brothers present one question. I would be glad to know what lands have been ceded to you, as I am uninformed in this particular. I expect that the lands on the Wabash, and in this country, belong to me and my people. I now take the opportunity to inform my brothers of the United States and others present, that there are men of sense and understanding among my people, as well as among theirs, and that these lands were disposed of without our knowledge or consent. I was yesterday surprised when I heard from our grandfathers, the Delawares, that these lands had been ceded by the British to the Americans, when the former were beaten by, and made peace with, the latter; because you had before told us that it was the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippeways, Pottawattamies, and Sauckeyes who had made this cession."

Thus ended this important session, leaving vital questions for discussion on the morrow.

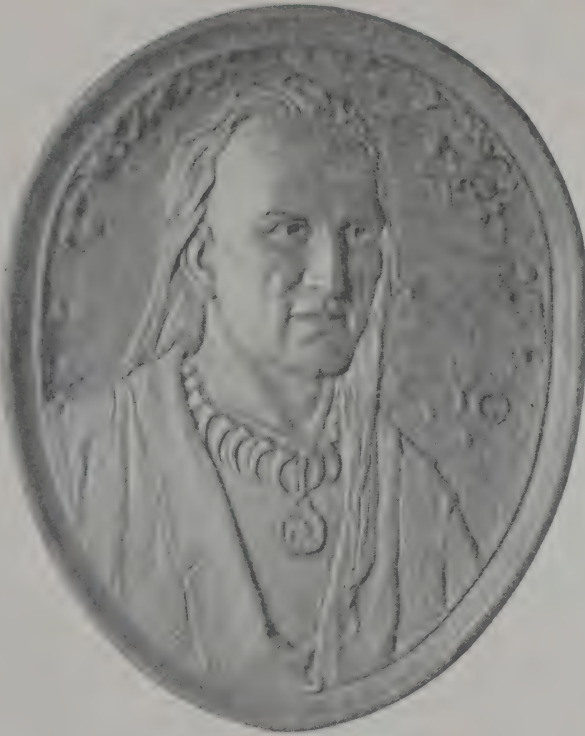
### A GREAT ORATION IS DELIVERED

On Wednesday, July 22nd, the stage was set for one of the most colorful sessions of the council. The apparent ignorance of some tribes concerning the treaty of Fort Harmar, signed some six years previous, and the conflicting claims of various nations concerning it, as revealed in the speeches of Massas and other speakers, had deeply stirred Meshi-kin-no-quoh, the Little Turtle, great chief of the Miami confederation, and, on this day, he released his pent up emotions in a burst of eloquence, probably unsurpassed during the entire negotiations, and equal to some of the finest addresses delivered by any Indian orator, whose speech is on record.

A study of the previous treaties held with the northern Indian nations,



by both the British and Americans, reveals that the Redman was schooled in oratory. Ordinarily we think of him, at this period of his history, as a savage or barbarian, unschooled in the refinements of social and civic life. His conduct around the council fire, however, reveals that he possessed a distinctive culture and refined technique which must have required centuries to cultivate. In order to attain this oratorical efficiency, it is said, their young men were being constantly trained by their chiefs and elder statesmen by being admitted to their councils, faithfully trained and instructed, and sent as ambassadors where public speaking was required. The young orator was trained to deliver his speech boldly and unhesitatingly. As he could not



Chief Little Turtle  
(Medallion—2nd Nat. Bank, Greenville, O.)

always know in advance what would be said by others in council he must be able to collect his thoughts rapidly and organize his points of emphasis on the spur of the moment. This required a clear and open mind, a trained memory and previous experience in statecraft. As a matter of inter-tribal courtesy, he must also be able to address the other tribes with their proper titles, which were used in their councils and jealously treasured by them, such as Grandfather, Uncle, Elder Brother, Younger Brother, etc.

"These people now claim the land, and must establish their right with you. We had yesterday some counsel among ourselves on this subject. We feel much alarmed at these words of our brothers, claiming in this manner these lands. This is all I have at present to say, brothers."

After a second thought, Tarhe then continued: "Elder Brothers of all nations! We have all assembled to effect a good work. My nephews and I

have been talking together concerning the speech of Massas. We were a little confused by it, and now leave it to our brothers, the fifteen fires, to say whether we shall now speak in answer to it, or consider of it until tomorrow."

### WAYNE COUNSELS DELIBERATION

After the injection of these controversial questions, Wayne replied thoughtfully: "Younger Brothers! As I am called upon by the Wyandots, to give my opinion whether they shall this day answer the speech of Massas, or consider of it till tomorrow, I will give it freely. I do think it will be better to postpone until tomorrow, because, after reflecting coolly, and sleeping, the answer may be more dispassionate and pleasing to all. I am convinced that Massas had no intention to hurt the feelings of his uncle and grandfather; he only meant to inform me that he had not received any goods or compensation for the lands ceded by the treaty of Muskingum. When we come into articles presently for a permanent peace, all those nations who have any right to the lands in question shall receive yet farther compensation, I hope to the satisfaction of all parties."

Much solemnity was manifested by the orator in order to impress his hearers with the importance of his message. So it was that Me-shi-kin-no-quah, the Little Turtle, the great chief of the Miami nation, who had defeated the Americans at the forks of the Maumee and on the upper waters of the Wabash, and had been defeated by them at Fallen Timbers, now stepped proudly forward to address the council, trigged out in all the gaudy and impressive habiliments of an Indian chieftain and true aristocrat of the frontier forest to cast his penetrating eye over the impressive, but motley, assemblage of American officers, interpreters, scouts and spies, and the noted chiefs and influential men of the northwestern tribes and nations.

We can well imagine this proud warrior delivering his impressive oration with a technique akin to that of the orator described by Parkman. "A sweep of his outstretched arm described the lands over which his forefathers had roamed; a pinch of earth, between his thumb and finger, what was left to him and his. A few kernels rattled in a pod typified the Indians remaining; a cloud of white-winged seed, shaken upon the evening breeze, symbolized the coming race. His closing words stated his determination to die by the great river that flowed through the hunting grounds of his fathers."

On this critical but inspiring occasion he first looked impressively at the Great Chief of the American army and said with fire and solemnity:

"General Wayne! I hope you will pay attention to what I now say to you. I wish to inform you where your younger brothers, the Miamis, live, and also the Pottawattamies of St. Joseph, together with the Wabash Indians. You have pointed out to us the boundary line between the Indians and the United States, but I now take the liberty to inform you that the line cuts off from the Indians a large portion of country which has been enjoyed by my forefathers, time immemorial, without molestation or dispute. The prints of my ancestors' houses are everywhere to be seen in this portion. I was a little astonished at hearing you and my brothers who are now present, telling each other what business you had transacted together heretofore, at Muskingum, concerning this country. It is well known by all my brothers present that my forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the headwaters of Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan. At this place I first saw my brothers, the Shawanese. I have now informed you of the boundaries of the Miami nation, where the Great Spirit placed my forefather a long time ago, and charged him not to sell, or part with his lands, but to preserve them for his posterity. This charge has been handed down to me. I was much surprised to find that my other brothers differed so much from me on this subject; for their conduct would lead me to suppose that the Great Spirit and their forefathers had



not given them the same charge that was given to me; but on the contrary, had directed them to sell their lands to any white man who wore a hat, as soon as he should ask it of them. Now, elder brother, your younger brothers, the Miamis, have pointed out to you their country and also to our brethren present. When I hear your remarks and proposals on this subject, I will be ready to give you an answer. I came with an expectation of hearing you say good things, but I have not yet heard what I had expected.

"Brothers, the Indians! I expected in this council, that our minds would have been made up, and that we should speak with one voice. I am sorry to observe that you are rather unsettled and hasty in your conduct."

## TAR-HE BURIES THE TOMAHAWK

Following the spirited oration of the Little Turtle, Tar-he spoke in a different strain pleading for the action that leads to peace. As he spoke in highly symbolic language his speech is worthy to quote:

"Elder Brother! Now listen to us. The Great Spirit above has appointed this day for us to meet together. I shall now deliver my sentiments to you, the fifteen fires, I view you lying in a gore of blood. It is me, an Indian, who has caused it. Our tomahawk yet remains in your head—the English gave it to me to place there.

"Elder Brother! I now take the tomahawk out of your head; but with so much care you shall not feel pain or injury. I will now tear a big tree up by the roots and throw the hatchet into the cavity which they occupy; where the waters will wash it away to where it can never be found. Now, I have buried the hatchet, and I expect that none of my color will ever again find it out. I now tell you that none in particular can justly claim this ground—it belongs in common to all. No earthly being has an exclusive right to it. The Great Spirit above is the true and only owner of this soil, and he has given us all an equal right to it." (Spoken on a blue belt.)

"Brothers, the fifteen fires, listen! You now see that we have buried the hatchet. We still see blood around, and in order to clear away all grief, we now wipe away the blood from around you, which together with the dirt that comes away with it, we bury with the hatchet in the hole we have made for them, and replace the great tree, as it stood before, so that our children nor our children's children can ever again discover it." (Spoken on a blue string attached and both delivered.)

"Brothers, listen! I now wipe your body clean from all blood with this white, soft linen (a white wampum) and I do it with as much tenderness as I am capable of. You have appointed this house for the chiefs of the different tribes to sit in with you, and none but good words ought to be spoken in it. I have swept it clean—nothing impure remains in it.

"Brothers, listen! We are both placed on this ground. I now wipe the tears from your eyes and open your ears. I see your throat is so stopped that you are nearly suffocated—I now open your throat and make it quite clean, that whatever the Great Spirit may think proper for you to swallow may go down without any obstruction. I see also that your heart is not in its true situation—I now place it in its proper position, that anything you may hear from us, your brothers, may descend directly to it, and what you shall say may come with truth and ease from it.

"Brother! I clear away your hovering clouds that we may enjoy a clear, bright day, and easily see the sun, which the Great Spirit has bestowed on us, to rise and set continually." (A white string.)

"Brother! Listen to us Indians, who now speak to you. The bones which lie scattered of your ancient warriors who fell in defense of the present cause, we gather all together, and bury them now, and place this white board over them, that they may never again be seen by our posterity. (A white and blue belt and string.)



"Brother Warrior! Listen to us. The great chiefs are now about to speak to you. Your chiefs and warriors present, listen also.

"Brother! We speak not from our lips, but from our hearts, when we are resolved upon good works. I always told you that I never intended to deceive you, when we entered upon this business. It was never the intention of us Indians to do so. I speak from my heart what I now say to you. The Great Spirit is now viewing us, and did he discover any baseness or treachery, it would excite his just anger against us.

"Brother! Listen to me. We are all of one mind, who are here assembled. This is a business not to be trifled with—it is a matter of the utmost concern to us. We happily so far agree in handling our ancestors' records, who always worked for peace.

"Brother! You have proposed to us to build our good work on the treaty of Muskingum. That treaty I have always considered as formed upon the fairest principles. You took pity on us Indians—you did not do as our fathers, the British, agreed you should. You might by that agreement, have taken all our lands; but you pitied us, and let us hold part. I always looked upon that treaty to be binding upon the United States and us Indians.

"Brother! Listen to us Indians—I told you just now that we were upon business of the greatest moment. I now conclude the great work we have been employed in, and with this, I cover the whole earth, that it may appear white, and shine all over the world. I hope the Great Spirit will have pity on us, and make this work lasting. (Four large mixed belts presented.)

"Brother! I am going to relate to you the treaty made at Muskingum in a few words. I have not forgotten that treaty; neither have you. At that time we settled a peace between the Delawares, Six Nations, Ottawas, Chippeways, Potawattamies, and us Wyandots. It is very true there were not so many different nations then assembled as are now present. We now establish a general, permanent, and lasting peace, forever.

"Brother! We are all sensible that when you struck the boundary, at that time, it run from Tuscarawas to a little way below Loramie, where the fort stood, which was destroyed in 1752. I understand the line has since been moved a little towards us. Be strong, brothers, and fulfill your engagements.

"Brothers, listen! I have told you that I speak from my heart—you see the speeches I have delivered. Peruse them and see whether or not I have spoken with sincerity. This is all your brothers of the different nations present have this day to say to you."

It is apparent from this speech that Tarhe, chief of the Wyandots, who were the "keepers of the calumet," the great peace pipe smoked by all of the tribes, now spoke for all of the nations present. Evidently, the chiefs had conferred together and decided to "speak with one voice." This speech is also a fine example of Indian oratory, and reveals the keen intelligence and oratorical powers of the speaker. He also reveals and recognizes the Indian doctrine of the common ownership of the land—a doctrine to which they clung tenaciously for many generations. To him the immense herds of buffalo on the plains, the deer and bear of the woods, were a common food supply, not to be exterminated but conserved for the use of coming generations. He could not conceive of being shut within the straight, narrow lines of a farm or reservation, but looked upon the distant mountain range, the virgin forest, and the flowing river as the common heritage of all the tribes and nations. He was the original land and game conservationist.

### THE GENERAL REPLIES

This must have been a lengthy session, and Wayne, recognizing the impressiveness of Tarhe's wonderful speech, arose and said:

"Younger Brothers! I have listened with great attention to everything you have said this day. I find the hatchet has been buried by all the



From painting by unknown artist owned by Chicago Historical Society

(C) Yale University Press

# AN ANIMATED PARLEY (Ostensibly at creek confluence, Greene Ville)

The tall warrior fittingly represents Chief Tarhe and the stocky American officer, apparently, is Gen. Wayne with staff

nations present. I shall peruse these belts, speeches and boundaries now laid before me, with great attention, and I am convinced they will agree with the records in my possession. The day is far spent, and we now separate to meet again tomorrow morning, and proceed in this good work."

### FIVE GREAT CHIEFS SPEAK PLAINLY

Thursday, July 23rd—This proved to be an eventful day. Blue Jacket, who represented the hesitant Shawanees seemingly impressed by the favorable attitude of other chiefs, now endeavored to cultivate more friendly relations with them by a conciliatory speech. This was a forward step as his nation and the Miamis had not signed the treaty of Fort Harmar. As a friendly gesture A-goosh-a-way, the Ottawa, now spoke:

"Brothers, the Indians! When I last had my calumet of peace, our elder brothers, the Shawanees, were not present. I now offer it to them, that the sentiments of their hearts may be similar to ours. All you nations present know this to be the calumet of the three fires. It is six years since it was sent from the north, to Michilimackinac, to the three fires who live at the gate, to be presented by them to the Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawanees, with an injunction always to hide it when anything bad was in motion; but to display it when anything good was contemplated. You all know the importance of this sacred token of peace among the Indians.

"Brother! Do not consider me as a brother—I view you as a friend. I present you this calumet, that came far from the north, and has gone round all the lakes. When it was sent to us, the stem pointed towards you (the east). Now, my friend, you may do with this pipe what you please. If you think proper, you may point it towards the fifteen fires, and afterwards turn it toward us.

"It is entirely at your disposal—I am informed to deliver it into your hands. (Delivers the pipe.)

"Friend! I now present you with a belt, which has been given to us by the Hurons, who received it from our brothers, the Americans, as a seat upon which we all should sit and rest. Our father, at Detroit, has always endeavored to lead us off from this seat; but we never listened to him—we consider it as a carpet, spread for our use; and we now show it to you that you may recognize it." (A large belt, with men, and a house, designed upon it.)

Massas again emphasized the friendly disposition of the Chippewas from the far north when he said: "Elder brother! This great calumet comes, not from the little lake near us, but from the great Lake Superior, to the north; from whence our great chiefs and warriors come.

"Elder Brother! When I returned from the treaty of Muskingum, I repeated the substance of its proceedings to my nation. You therefore see that your words have gone a great way; even to Lake Superior.

"Brother! I live at a great distance from you, but when you call a council, I hear your voice immediately, and I come without delay. You now see all your brothers around you. We are well acquainted with what we are now doing and what we have done heretofore. The white beads on this belt denote the number of large villages from the north who have heard your word." (A belt with nine white squares.)

Mash-ipi-nash-i-wish now made an interesting address in which he revealed the experience of the Chippewa nation with the French and English and expressed a strong desire to make peace with the Americans. He said, in part: "Elder brother, and all you present, listen to me with attention! When the Great Spirit made the world, he put me at Michilimackinac, where I first drew my breath. At first, I was entirely naked and destitute, and as if he had compassion on me, he pointed out to me the way to the white people. I followed his path and found them below Quebec, at the Falls of Montmorenci. I was satisfied the Great Spirit pitied us, for you whites



had all pity on us, and hence we always loved you. The Great Spirit has blessed you with greater knowledge than we are possessed of—you are therefore entitled to great respect. When we first found the French whites, we took them to our fires, and they have lived among us ever since. (A white string.)

"Elder Brother, listen to me! As I told you last winter, if we Indians have acted wrong, we are not entirely to blame. It was our father, the British, who urged us to bad deeds and reduced us to present state of misery. He persuaded us to shed all the blood we have spilled. You, this day, see me fulfill my promise. With this belt I cover all the slain, together with our evil actions. (A white belt.) \* \* \* \*

"Elder Brother, listen! The Great Spirit above hears us, and I trust we shall not endeavor to deceive each other. I expect what we are about to do shall never be forgotten as long as we exist.

"When I show you this belt, I point out to you your children at one end of it and mine at the other, and I would solicit the fifteen fires, and their women and children, to have pity on my helpless offspring. I now tell you that we will assist you, to the utmost of our power, to do what is right. Remember, we have taken the Great Spirit to witness our present actions. We will make a new world, and leave nothing on it to incommode our children." (A white belt.)

"Elder Brother! I now use this white wampum that the words I utter may descend to the bottom of your heart and that of the fifteen fires.

"Elder Brother! I was not disposed to take up the hatchet against you; it was forced into my hands by the white people. I now throw it into the middle of the deepest lake, from whence no mortal can bring it back.

"Brother! I have thrown my hatchet into a bottomless lake, from whence it never will return. I hope you will also throw yours so far that it may never again be found." (A string blue and white.)

"Brother! After hearing all your words, my heart feels easy and in its proper place. I do not speak to you about lands, for why should I? You have told us we might hunt upon your lands. You need not apprehend any injury from us—we will for the future live and hunt in peace and happiness.

"Elder Brother! You see before you all my war-chiefs. They never go ahead of their commander; they ever obey and follow his orders. When I was here last winter you expressed a desire to see them. You told me you would treat them well, but they say they have not seen this treatment, and require the cause of this alteration." (A blue string.)

New Corn, an elderly chief of the Pottawattomies, then arose, apologized for his decrepit appearance, expressed happiness at the friendly words spoken by General Wayne, but observed that he had never received any of the compensation given at the treaty of Muskingum (Fort Harmar). He also stated that his nation consisted of a thousand men, living between Detroit and Lake Michigan, and that he had twenty-three chiefs under his command.

## WAYNE CONCILIATES THE CHIEFS

In reply to the speeches of the chiefs, Wayne now said: "Younger brothers! I have heard, with due attention, all that you this day have said. Tomorrow I will reply fully to you. My plate and my table are not very large. They could not entertain all present at one time, but I hope to see all your chiefs in person, and in due rotation, before we part. In the meantime you must acknowledge that I have helped your plates pretty well, and kept them full all around me. I will send you a little liquor this evening, but I hope you will keep your heads clear to attend to what I shall say tomorrow."

## Chapter IV

### WAYNE EXPLAINS LAND TITLES

**F**RIDAY, JULY 24th—This proved to be one of the most lengthy and instructive sessions of the council as Wayne made a careful, detailed exposition of American claims to ownership of lands occupied by the various tribes. Blue Jacket first made acknowledgment of the precedence of the Wyandots, as the uncles of all the tribes, and the custodian of the great fire, and asked Wayne to address his words first to them, who would, in turn, "hand them round through the different nations."

As Wayne's address on this occasion was so important we quote it herewith in full:

"Brothers, the Ottawas, Chippeways and Pottawattamies! Open your ears and be attentive! I have heard with very great pleasure, the sentiments delivered by Massas, as the unanimous voice of your three nations. When Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, your uncle, came to me last winter, I took him to my bosom, and delivered him the key of all my forts and garrisons, and my heart rejoices when I look around me and see so many of your chiefs and warriors assembled here in consequence of that happy meeting. It will give infinite pleasure to General Washington, the great chief of the fifteen fires, when I inform him you have thrown the hatchet with so strong an arm, that it has reached the middle, and sunk to the bottom of the great lake, and that it is now so covered with sand that it can never again be found. The belt which was given to Wassung, many years since, establishing a road between you and the fifteen fires, I now return, renewed and cleared of all the brush and brambles with which time had scattered it.

"Brothers of the three great fires! You say you thought you were the proper owners of the land that was sold to the fifteen fires at the treaty of Muskingum, but you say also that you never received any compensation for those lands. It was always the wish and intention of the fifteen fires that the true owners of those lands should receive a full compensation for them. If you did not receive a due proportion of the goods, as original proprietors, it was not the fault of the United States; on the contrary, the United States have paid twice for those lands; first at the treaty of McIntosh, ten years ago, and next at that of Muskingum, six years since.

"Younger Brothers! Notwithstanding that these lands have been twice paid for by the fifteen fires at the places I have mentioned, yet such is the justice and liberality of the United States that they will now, a third time, make compensation for them." (A large string to the three fires.)

"Brothers, the Miamis! I have paid attention to what the Little Turtle said, two days since, concerning the lands which he claims. He said his father first kindled the fire at Detroit and stretched his line from thence to the head-waters of Scioto; thence down the same to the Ohio; thence down that river to the mouth of the Wabash, and from thence to Chicago, on the southwest end of Lake Michigan and observed that his forefathers had enjoyed that country, undisturbed, from time immemorial.

"Brothers! These boundaries enclose a very large space of country indeed; they embrace, if I mistake not, all the lands on which all the nations now present live, as well as those which have been ceded to the United States. The lands which have been ceded have within these three days been acknowledged by the Ottawas, Chippeways, Pottawattamies, Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawanese. The Little Turtle says, the prints of his forefathers' houses



are everywhere to be seen within these boundaries. Younger brother! it is true these prints are to be observed, but at the same time we discover the marks of French possessions throughout this country, which were established long before we were born. These have since been in the possession of the British, who must, in their turn, relinquish them to the United States, when they, the French and the Indians, will be all as one people. (A white string.)

"I will point out to you a few places where I discover strong traces of these establishments, and first of all, I find at Detroit, a very strong print, where the fire was first kindled by your forefathers; next at Vincennes on the Wabash; again at Musquiton, on the same river; a little higher up on that stream, they are to be seen at Ouitanon. I discover another strong trace at Chicago; another on the St. Joseph's of Lake Michigan. I have seen distinctly, the prints of a French and of a British post, at the Miami villages, and of a British post at the foot of the Rapids, now in their possession. Prints, very conspicuous, are on the Great Miami, which were possessed by the French, forty-five years ago; and another trace is very distinctly to be seen at Sandusky.

"It appears to me, that if the Great Spirit, as you say, charged your forefathers to preserve their lands entire, for their posterity, they have paid very little regard to the sacred injunction, for I see they have parted with those lands to your fathers, the French—and the English are now, or have been, in possession of them all; therefore, I think the charge urged against the Ottawas, Chippeways and other Indians, comes with a bad grace indeed, from the very people who, perhaps, set them the example. The English and French both wore hats; and yet your forefathers sold them, at various times, portions of your lands. However, as I have already observed, you shall now receive from the United States, further valuable compensation for the lands you have ceded to them by former treaties.

"Younger Brothers! I will now inform you who it was who gave us these lands in the first instance; it was your fathers, the British, who did not discover that care for your interests which you ought to have experienced. This is the treaty of peace, made between the United States of America and Great Britain, twelve years ago, at the end of a long and bloody war, when the French and Americans proved too powerful for the British; on these terms they obtained peace. (Here part of the treaty of 1783 was read.)

"Here you perceive that all the country south of the Great Lakes has been given to America; but the United States never intended to take that advantage of you, which the British placed in their hands; they wish you to enjoy your just rights, without interruption, and to promote your happiness. The British stipulated to surrender to us all the posts on this side of the boundary agreed on. I told you some days ago, that treaties should ever be sacredly fulfilled by those who make them; but the British on their part, did not find it convenient to relinquish those posts as soon as they should have done; however, they now find it so, and precise period is fixed for their delivery. I have now in my hand a copy of a treaty, made eight months since, between them and us, of which I will read you a little. (First and second articles of Mr. Jay's treaty read.)

"By this solemn agreement they promised to retire from Michilimackinac, Fort St. Clair, Detroit, Niagara, and all other places on this side of the lakes, in ten moons from this period, and leave the same to the full and quiet possession of the United States.

"Brothers! All nations present, now listen to me!

"Having now explained those matters to you, and informed you of all things I judged necessary for your information, we have nothing to do but to bury the hatchet, and draw a veil over past misfortunes. As you have buried our dead, with the concern of brothers, so I now collect the bones of your slain warriors, put them into a deep pit which I have dug, and cover them carefully over with this large belt, there to remain undisturbed. I also



dry the tears from your eyes, and wipe the blood from your bodies, with this soft white linen. No bloody traces will ever lead to the graves of your departed heroes; with this, I wipe all such away. I deliver it to your uncle, the Wyandot, who will send it round among you. (A large belt, with a white string attached.)

"I now take the hatchet out of your heads, and with a strong arm, throw it into the center of the great ocean, where no mortal man can ever find it; and I now deliver to you the wide and straight path to the fifteen fires, to be used by you and your posterity, forever. So long as you continue to follow, so long will you continue to be a happy people. You see it is straight and wide, and they will be blind indeed who deviate from it. I place it also in your uncle's hands, that he may preserve it for you. (A large broad belt.)

"I will, the day after tomorrow, show you the cessions which you have made to the United States, and point out to you the lines which may, for the future, divide your lands from theirs; and as you will have tomorrow to rest, I will order you a double allowance of drink, because we have now buried the hatchet, and performed every necessary ceremony to render propitious our renovated friendship."

### CHIEF TAR-HE RETURNS THANKS

With due propriety Chief Tar-he arose and said:

"Brothers, the fifteen fires, listen! and all you chiefs and warriors present. This is a day appointed by the Great Spirit above, for us; he has taken pity on us all, and disposed us to perfect this good work. You have all heard what our elder brother has said on these two belts. We will all now return thanks to this great chief, and to the great chief of the fifteen fires, for their goodness toward us, and we will, at the same time, offer our acknowledgment to the Great Spirit, for it is he alone who has brought us together, and caused us to agree in the good works which have been done. My thanks are also due to you, chiefs and warriors present."

In view of this wonderful prayer to the Great Spirit it would scarcely be fair to classify this Indian chief as a heathen barbarian but rather to acknowledge him as grounded in some of the fundamentals of the Christian faith. Perhaps missionaries for several generations had borne good fruit among these northern tribes.

### WAYNE READS THE PROPOSED TREATY

After a two days' rest the chiefs and agents of the tribes then present gathered around to consider their final decision with reference to the various provisions of the proposed treaty. On this occasion the sole commissioner of the United States arose and deliberately addressed the council with these weighty words:

"Younger Brothers! When we were last in council, I informed you that I would, on this day, describe the general boundary line that shall be proposed, to divide the lands of the United States, or fifteen great fires of America, from those belonging to the Indian nations, which I will now proceed to do, in such a manner as to prevent mistakes or disputes in future, respecting that boundary. I will therefore read and explain to you the several articles of that treaty upon which a permanent peace shall be established between the United States of America and all the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio.

"You will, therefore, younger brothers, open your ears to hear, and your hearts to understand, all of the articles of agreement which I hold in my hands."

General Wayne, thereupon, read the proposed articles of the treaty and proceeded to explain the third article. It should be noted that the treaty,

as finally adopted, contained about three thousand words, comprising the preamble, which stated its purpose, and ten articles, and must have consumed much time in the mere reading. Article 1 provided for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the reestablishment of friendly intercourse; Article 2 provided for an exchange of prisoners; Article 3, which was the longest, described the proposed boundaries of the land cession and designated sixteen reservations, mostly from two to twelve miles square, at strategic sites, within the Indian country. Naturally, the provisions of this article caused the most lengthy controversy and discussion.

## GREENE VILLE TREATY LINE

Article 4, excepted certain other tracts, provides for the immediate delivery of twenty thousand dollars worth of goods, and the yearly distribution of ninety-five hundred dollars in goods, in specified amounts, to the various tribes; Article 5, explained the meaning of the relinquishment of certain other lands by the United States and provided for the further sale of lands by the Indians, in the future; Article 6, stipulated the punishment to be administered to squatters within the Indian boundaries; Article 7, explained hunting privileges within the ceded territory; Article 8, specified the manner of opening trade between the Indians and the Americans, and the proper licensing of traders; Article 9, provided penalties for the violation of the treaty by individuals, or tribes; Article 10, provided for the annulment of all former treaties.

In explanation of the reservations specified in Article 3, Wayne proceeded to say: "Younger brothers! I wish you clearly to understand the object of these reservations. They are not intended to annoy you, or impose the smallest degree of restraint on you, in the quiet and full possession of your lands, but to connect the settlements of the people of the United States, by rendering a passage from one to the other more practicable and convenient, and to supply the necessary wants of those who shall reside at them. They are intended, at the same time, to prove convenient and advantageous to the different Indian tribes residing and hunting in their vicinity, as trading-posts will be established at them, to the end that you may be furnished with goods, in exchange for your furs and skins, at a reasonable rate.

"You will consider that the principal part of the now proposed reservations were made and ceded by the Indians, at an early period, to the French; the French, by the treaty of peace of 1763, ceded them to the British, who, by the treaty of 1783, ceded all the posts and possessions they then held, or to which they had any claim, south of the Great Lakes, to the United States of America. The treaty of Muskingum embraced all these reservations, and has been recognized by the representatives of all the nations now present, during the course of last winter, as the basis upon which this treaty should be founded.

"Younger Brothers! I have now proposed to you articles of a treaty, calculated to ensure our future friendship and happiness, and which may continue till time shall be no more. I present this belt, emblematic of the ten articles which compose it, to your uncles, the Wyandots." (A belt.)

## TAR-HE COUNSELS SPEED

The chief of the Wyandots, moved by the strength of Wayne's logic, now arose and said: "Brothers, the fifteen fires, listen! and you, my nephews, the Delawares, brothers Ottawas, Chippeways, Pottawatomies, Shawanese and Miamis! This is the day the Great Spirit has appointed for us, wherein we have completed the good work of peace.

"We have opened our ears, and we all understand well what has just now been said. We have paid the utmost attention to all your words, in



describing the boundary between the United States and us Indians, and the roads you have made, which shall lead through our country, to the different posts and reservations you have mentioned. We thank you for your information, and we are persuaded you have acted with great equity and moderation, in dividing the country as you have done; we are highly pleased with your humanity towards us.

"Listen, you chiefs and warriors present! Our elder brother has made proposals to us, which require the greatest deliberation among us all. I do now request of you to consult upon this business, without delay, that we may be enabled to return to our brother tomorrow. Make no delay in deciding. This is all I have to say."

## THE STRUGGLE FOR AGREEMENT

Council convened on Tuesday, July 28th, and Tar-he arose and asked postponement of their decision until the 29th on behalf of the Wyandots, Delawares and Shawanees as "more time is required to consider so important a matter."

He was followed by The Sun, who made a lengthy speech on behalf of the Pottawattamies, saying, among other things: "Elder brother! I now bury the hatchet forever, and tell you that all the bad and imprudent actions which have been committed were not done by me the Indian." He then reiterated the statement that they had been led astray by the British, who had brought misery and misfortune upon them; that it was not his tribe who originated mischief, but "the three people who lived at the Miami Villages who assumed to themselves the privilege of going before," referring probably to the Miamis, Delawares and Shawanese, or possibly the Wyandots.

## THE HESITANT TRIBES AGREE

The session of Wednesday, July 29th, proved to be a very important one, both because of the formal statement presented on behalf of the three hesitant tribes, and a frank detailed comment by the Little Turtle, in reference to certain provisions of the proposed treaty. Chief Tar-he presented a carefully prepared statement, signed by "J. Williams, Agent and Commissioner for the Chiefs and Warriors of Sandusky," in answer to some of the proposals made by Wayne, on July 27. This statement called Wayne's attention to one apparent discrepancy between his promise, sent in a communication, dated January 1st, 1795, and the recent statement, in which he said he "would not protect the Indians from the mischief that might take place among themselves." He then follows with questions about land ownership and suggests that Wayne fix the bounds of every nation's rights, in order to prevent possible future disputes, as the petitioning nations wished to remain by themselves. These statements are presented as "the unanimous opinion of the chiefs, the Wyandots, Ottawas, Delawares, and Six Nations of Sandusky, and the Delawares and Shawanees from the waters of the Miami river." (Maumee.) This statement of Williams bore strong indications of outside pressure.

## THE LITTLE TURTLE DISCUSSES BOUNDARIES AND RESERVATIONS

The Little Turtle now spoke at length in behalf of the Pottawattamies, Weas, and Kickapoos, concerning boundaries and reservations, stating in part: "Elder brother! You have told us that most of the reservations you proposed to us belonged to our fathers, the French and British. Permit your younger brothers to make a few observations on this subject.

"Elder Brother! We wish you to listen with attention to our words. You have told your younger brothers that the British imposed falsehoods



on us, when they said, the United States wished to take our lands from us, and that the United States had no such design. You pointed out to us the boundary line, which crossed a little below Loramie's store, and struck Fort Recovery, and ran thence to the Ohio river, opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river."

Little Turtle now proposes that the Americans run this west line of the boundary from Fort Recovery, along the army road cut through Greene Ville to Fort Hamilton, and then down the Great Miami to the Ohio river, in order that the Indians' hunting grounds be not further reduced. In reference to the proposed reservations he observes:

"Elder Brother! In speaking of the reservations, you say they are designed for the same purpose as those for which our fathers, the French and English, occupied them. Your younger brothers now wish to make some observations on them.

"Elder Brother! Listen to me, with attention. You told us you discovered, on the Great Miami, traces of an old fort. It was not a French fort, brother; it was a fort built by me. You perceived another at Loramie; 'tis true a Frenchman once lived there, for a year or two. The Miami villages were occupied, as you remarked, but it was unknown to your younger brothers until you told them that we had sold land there to the French or English. I was much surprised to hear you say it was my forefathers had set the example to the other nations in selling their lands. I will inform you in what manner the French and English occupied those places.

"Elder Brother! These people were seen by our forefathers first at Detroit; afterwards we saw them at the Miami village—that glorious gate which your younger brothers had the happiness to own, and through which all the good works of our chiefs had to pass, from the north to the south, and from the east to the west. Brothers, these people never told us they wished to purchase our lands from us." (It should be observed that when the Indians spoke of the Miami river they meant the Miami of the Lakes, now called the Maumee; and that the Miami villages were located at the forks of the Maumee, on the present site of Fort Wayne. With the exception of Nickilimackinac and Detroit, this was probably the most strategic location in the entire Northwest Territory, as several portages converged here.)

"Elder Brother! I now give you the true sentiments of your younger brothers the Miamis, with respect to the reservations at the Miami village. We thank you for kindly contracting the limits you at first proposed. We wish you to take this six mile square, on the side of the river where your fort now stands, as your younger brothers wish to inhabit that beloved spot again. You shall cut hay for your cattle whenever you please, and you shall never require in vain the assistance of your younger brothers at that place.

"Elder Brother! The next place you pointed to was the Little River, and said you wanted two miles square at that place. This is a request that our fathers, the French or British never made us—it was always ours. This carrying place has heretofore proved, in a great degree, the subsistence of your younger brothers. That place has brought to us in the course of one day, the amount of one hundred dollars. Let us both own this place and enjoy in common the advantages it affords. You told us at Chicago the French possessed a fort; we have never heard of it. We thank you for the trade you promised to open in our country and permit us to remark that we wish our former traders may be continued and mixed with yours.

"Elder Brother! On the subject of hostage, I have only to observe that I trust all my brothers present are of my opinion with regard to peace and our future happiness. I expect to be with you every day, when you settle on your reservations, and it will be impossible for me or my people to withhold from you a single prisoner, therefore we don't know why any of us should remain here. These are the sentiments of your younger brothers present on these particulars." (A white string.)

Asimethe followed with a few complimentary remarks, which he ended by saying: "All our treaties hitherto have failed; this, I am confident, will be lasting. These words come from the three fires, and we hope the Great Spirit may witness our sincerity." (A white string.)

July 31st the Little Turtle spoke in behalf of the Kickapoos and Kaskaskias, expressing friendly sentiments, and presented the calumet to General Wayne as a token of lasting friendship.

## THE CHIPPEWAS PRESENT AN ISLAND

Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish again spoke for the three fires of the upper lake region and set a fine example for the contemplation of the more skeptical tribes, when he said: "You have asked of us, the island of Michilimackinac, and its dependencies, on the main, where the fort formerly stood; they are ceded to you, forever, with the utmost cheerfulness. You have also asked a piece of ground at the entrance of the straits, to cut your wood on, and for other necessary purposes; this is also granted to you, and I further add to it the Isle de Bois Blanc, as an instance of our sincere disposition to serve and accommodate you. You know, brother, when the French formerly possessed this country, we were but one people, and had but one fire between us; we now entertain the hope of enjoying the same happy relation with you, the United States."

On behalf of the Little Beaver, chief of the Wea tribe, the Little Turtle exhibited some papers, signed by President Washington, guaranteeing them protection in the enjoyment of their hunting grounds, towns, and lands, and the placing of reliable and acceptable traders among them. With respect to other proposed reservations he observed:

"You have asked for a reservation at Ouiatanon; I hope you will put a trader there, on the spot formerly occupied by one. We would wish Capt. Prior to be our trader. I can't give you any lands there, brother; I will lend you some as long as you want it. You have told us of a place possessed by the French, called Musquiton. We have lived at our village a long time, and it is very surprising that we should never know anything about it. The French lived at Vincennes, where they were permitted to settle by my forefathers, who told them they should have a small quantity of land for the cattle, etc., on the east, but none on the west side of the Wabash." (Ouittanon village was located near the present site of Lafayette, Indiana.)

## MASSAS URGES ACTION

Speaking for the three fires, Massas now admitted that "they had seen several treaties heretofore made with the United States, which the Indians had always violated by taking up the hatchet." He stated that "it would be very wrong in me to raise objections to what has been done, as you have explained to us your treaty with Britain." He was anxious about the disposition of the French, who had settled about Detroit, if the Americans made their proposed reservation there, and suggested that it be established between the rivers Raisin and Rouge. He raised no other objection to any other proposition that had been made but hoped that the Americans would lose no time in settling among them to protect them from the British, who, "on our return will renew their old songs."

He especially feared Alexander McKee, the renegade American, who acted as the British Indian agent at Detroit, and, when Massas returned from the treaty of Muskingum, in 1789, had threatened to kill him, and also tried to prevent his coming to see Wayne at Greene Ville. He ended his speech by saying:

"Elder Brother! You asked who were the true owners of the lands now ceded to the United States. In answer, I tell you, that if any nation



should call themselves the owners of it, they would be guilty of a falsehood; our claim to it is equal; our elder brother has conquered it.

"Brothers! Have done trifling. Let us conclude this great work; let us sign our names to the treaty now proposed and finish our business.

"Elder Brother! If I can escape the snares of McKee and his bad birds, I shall ascend as high as the Falls of St. Marys, and proclaim the good tidings to all your distant brothers in that quarter." (A belt.)

## WAYNE ANSWERS VITAL QUESTIONS

The General now proceeded to answer many of the perplexing questions which had been asked. He reminded the Indians that it would be better for them to adjust their own tribal boundaries, as they knew them much better than he did. He then urged them to continue friendly and just to each other, especially not to violate hunting privileges, nor to offer injury to any nation on account of their attitude during the treaty proceedings. He assured the Wyandots that a fort would be established on the reservation, near the entrance to Sandusky lake, which would afford constant protection to them, as soon as practicable. He then reminded the Miamis that they were the only nation offering objections to the proposed western treaty line. On this point he remarked: "You say that the general boundary line, as proposed by me, will take away some of your best hunting grounds, and you propose to alter it, and run it from Fort Recovery, through the center of this place (Greene Ville), and along the road to the Miami river, opposite Fort Hamilton.

"Younger Brothers! This would be a very crooked as well as a very difficult line to follow, because there are several roads between this and Fort Hamilton, some of them several miles apart, which might certainly be productive of unpleasant mistakes and differences. That which I propose will be free from all difficulty and uncertainty. You all know Fort Recovery, as well as the mouth of the Kentucky river. A straight line drawn from one to the other will never vary; they are two points which ever will be remembered, not only by all present, but by our children's children, to the end of time. Nor will this line prevent your hunters or young men in the smallest degree from pursuing all the advantages which the chase affords, because by the seventh article the United States of America grant liberty to all the Indian tribes to hunt within the territory ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury to the people of the United States.

This reference to several roads between Hamilton and Greenville, at that time reminds us that Wayne did not follow St. Clair's narrow and crooked trail, except in part; that there were also old Indian trails following the upper Whitewater and Twin Creek valleys and that Wayne cut a road to Fort Rowdy (Covington, O.) connecting with the Stillwater Valley trail.

"I find there is some objection to the reservation at Fort Wayne. The Little Turtle observes, he never heard of any cessions made at that place to the French. I have traced the lines of two forts at that point; one stood near the junction of the St. Joseph's and the St. Mary's; and the other not far removed, on the St. Mary's; and it is ever an established rule, among Europeans, to reserve as much ground around their forts as their cannon can command; that is a rule, as well known as any other fact.

"Objection has also been made respecting the portage between Fort Wayne and Little river; and the reasons produced are, that the road has been to the Miamis a source of wealth—that it has heretofore produced them one hundred dollars per day. It may be so; but let us enquire who in fact paid this heavy contribution. It is true, the traders bore it in the first instance, but they laid it on their goods, and the Indians of the Wabash really and finally paid it; therefore, it is the Little Beaver, the Soldier, the Sun, and their tribes, who have actually been so highly taxed. The United States



will always be their own carriers, to and from, their different posts. Why should the United States pay the large sum of eight thousand dollars annually if they are not to enjoy the privilege of open roads to and from their reservations; and the share which the Miamis will receive of this annuity, shall be one thousand dollars.

"I will then enquire, from all the nations present, whether the United States are not acting the part of a tender father to them and their children, in thus providing for them; not only at present, but forever?"

"The Miamis shall be at liberty, as usual, to employ themselves for private traders whenever their assistance may be required, and those people who have lived at that glorious gate (the Miami villages) may now rekindle their fires at their favorite spot, and henceforth, as in their happiest days, be at full liberty to receive from and send to all quarters the speeches of their chiefs as usual—and here is the road the Miamis will remember." (A road belt.)

"Now all ye chiefs and warriors of every nation present, open your ears that you may clearly hear the articles of treaty, now in my hand, again read, and a second time explained to you, that we may proceed to have them engrossed on parchment which may preserve them forever."

### THE ARTICLES ARE READ A SECOND TIME

The articles were now read carefully a second time, requiring probably half an hour or longer, if repeated by the interpreters, while all the assembled delegates, no doubt, listened in tense silence, while General Wayne made special comment upon some controversial provisions, as follows:

Concerning the exchange of hostages:

"I did not expect any objections to this particular, for I see no reason why you should hesitate at leaving ten of your people with me, until the return of our people, from among you. The promise of a mutual exchange of prisoners made last winter, when we met at this place, you have not performed on your part; I have kept none of your flesh and blood; nor would General Washington, the Great Chief of the United States, suffer me so to do. The period will be short, and those who remain shall be kindly treated."

Concerning the reservation at Detroit:

"Massas has asked, what will become of the French? The United States consider the French and themselves as one people, and it is partly for them and their accommodation that this reservation is made, whenever they become citizens thereof, as well as for the people of the Fifteen Fires."

Concerning the gift of the Isle de Bois Blanc:

"In addition to the cessions which the Three Fires have made with such cheerfulness of the reservations in their country, Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish has, in their name, made voluntary gift to the United States of the Isle de Bois Blanc, in Lake Michigan. The Fifteen Fires accept of this unasked-for grant from the Ottawas, Chippeways, and Potawattamies according to their intentions, and we will always view it as an unequivocal mark of their sincere friendship."

"The Little Turtle yesterday expressed a wish that some of their former traders might be continued among them, as a part of the number to be licensed by the United States. This is very fair and reasonable, and a certain number will be licensed accordingly, when properly recommended as good and honest men.

"Brothers! All you nations now present, listen! You have now had, for a second time, the proposed articles of treaty read and explained to you. It is now time for the negotiation to draw to a conclusion. I shall, therefore, ask each nation, individually, if they approve of and are prepared to sign those articles in their present form, that they may be immediately engrossed for that purpose. I shall begin with the Chippeways.

"You Chippeways, do you approve of these articles of treaty, and are you prepared to sign them?"

To these questions the Chippeways then answered, "yes," unanimously, as did all the other tribes present, in the following order: Ottawas, Pottawattamies, Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Miamis, Weas, and Kickapoos.

It will be noted that Wayne did not call the tribal names alphabetically, but according to groups, commencing with the representatives of the friendly Three Fires, who had led in the acceptance of the proposed provisions. These formal proceedings having been completed successfully, the Great Peace Commissioner then dismissed with the remarks:

"The treaty shall be engrossed; and it will require two or three days to do it properly, on parchment. We will now part, to meet on the 2d of August. In the interim, we will eat, drink, and rejoice and thank the Great Spirit for the happy stage this good work has arrived at."

### TARDY DELEGATES ARRIVE

As has been noted, the groups and sectional tribes living around Detroit, were greatly under the influence of the British, who, at that time, still held this outpost, on American soil, contrary to the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, signed in 1783, at the close of the Revolution. It can readily be seen why these Indians vacillated in their alliance between the British and the Americans, as revealed by Massas in his address on the 30th. It is not surprising, then, that some who desired to attend the treaty negotiations were restrained and detained. Thus it was that The Red Pole, with eighty-eight Shawanese, and Tey-yagh-taw, with seven Wyandots, nine of the Six Nations, and ten Delawares, arrived from this vicinity, and were received with friendliness.

### THE FULL ASSEMBLY MEETS

The Council convened, as arranged, on Sunday, August 2nd, with attendance augmented by the presence of the tardy delegates from the Detroit area. Red Pole expressed himself as well pleased with the reports of the good work accomplished and agreed upon before his arrival.

### THE QUAKERS SEND PRESENTS

It was appropriate that the General, on this day, read a friendly letter and presented gifts from the Quakers, whose benevolent disposition was well known to the Indians, as they had figured largely in William Penn's treaties in Pennsylvania, and at other treaties held at various times thereafter. In commenting on this action Wayne said: "The Quakers are a people whom I much love and esteem for their goodness of heart and sincere love of peace with all nations. Their present, you perceive, is small, but being designed with the benevolent view of promoting the peace and happiness of mankind, it becomes of important value."

The General then announced that the articles of the peace pact had not been completely engrossed, but would be ready by eight o'clock on the following morning, when they would meet, read the articles of the treaty, for the third time, for the special information of the late comers, and mutually sign and exchange it.

### A VISIT TO THE GREAT FATHER

Following these welcome acknowledgements, Blue Jacket arose and reported that the Shawanese now buried the war hatchet, and said "We must think of war no more." He then requested Wayne to inform General Washington of the "cheerful unanimity" which had marked their deliberation, and finished his speech with the appropriate suggestion that Wayne enquire of

the President, "if it would be agreeable that two chiefs from each nation should pay him a visit, and take him by the hand; for your younger brothers have a strong desire to see that great man, and to enjoy the pleasure of conversing with him."

This suggestion was endorsed unanimously by the tribes and made a strong appeal to Wayne, who saw its far-reaching possibilities, promised to send the message on to President Washington, and report his reaction to the suggestion. The result of this was that, early in October of the following year, several distinguished chiefs left Detroit on the boat *Swan*, under the charge of Captain John Heath, of the Third Sub-Legion. Among others Blue Jacket, Little Turtle and Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish were supposed to have been included. Little Turtle was very jealous of his prestige and threatened to remain behind if Blue Jacket accompanied the party, while Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish took dangerously ill on the eve of departure. William Wells accompanied the Miami and Wabash Indians, as interpreter; Christian Miller was assigned to the Shawanese, while P. Whitmore Knaggs represented the Three Fires of the north. These representatives were to travel by boat across Lake Erie, to Fort Erie, where they were to dismiss the *Swan*, proceed to Niagara; thence down Lake Ontario to Fort Oswego; thence they were to go by the way of Lake Oneida to Fort Shuler, across the portage to the Mohawk, and down that stream to Albany on the Hudson, and thus on to New York, where they were to take "state wagons" for the capital, at Philadelphia. If these Indians did not want to go the entire trip by water, which was usually disagreeable to them, they could disembark at Presque Isle, Fort Erie, and proceed thence by land to Pittsburgh, and on to the capital. In any case the Wyandots proposed to take the land route from Sandusky, under the escort of Isaac Williams, who had been influential, with William Wells, in negotiating the treaty. Many interesting anecdotes are told about Little Turtle, during his sojourn in Philadelphia, where he met and was honored by Kosciuszko and other distinguished foreigners and public officials.

When General Wayne adjourned the council, on August 2, 1795, he said: "The instrument we will sign tomorrow shall be an everlasting record of the good action—one part of which I will immediately transmit to him." (President Washington.)



## Chapter V

### THE TREATY IS SIGNED

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1795, the fateful day appointed for signing the treaty had at last arrived. Since the formal approval of the draft, on July 31, some doubting Thomases had arrived from the lake region and joined the circle around the Council fire. For the information of these, and the "perfect satisfaction of all," Wayne took occasion to read and explain, a second time, his commission and authority for holding the treaty. He then read, for the third time, the engrossed articles of the proposed pact, which were thereupon signed by the ninety chiefs and agents, representing the twelve nations and sub-tribes participating. An examination of the signed document, showing the totems of many of the chiefs; the government interpreters; the American officers, etc., suggest that much time must have been consumed in signing and transcribing alone. With the completion of this most important action, Wayne said:

"Younger Brothers! Having completed the signing of this treaty, one part of it shall be delivered to the Wyandots, who will preserve it as a sacred pledge of the establishment of our future friendship; the other, or counterpart, I will send to the great chief, General Washington. In addition, one copy on paper shall be delivered to each nation, for their frequent and particular information. We will now proceed to apportion the goods designed to be given to you, and I hope to be prepared for their delivery in a day or two. Some assistance must be afforded to the Chippeways, and other remote tribes, to facilitate the transportation of their proportions. We will, for the present, retire, and we will have a little drink this evening."

Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish again expressed the good will and gratitude of the three fires and requested the release and delivery of one of his friends who had been incarcerated.

Chaplain Jones' journal reveals that the wife of Little Turtle died on the afternoon of July 4, and was buried with military honors. After the burial the Chaplain delivered a short sermon to the mourners who were seated on skins and blankets. The sermon was interpreted by William Wells and received with thanks by the great chief.

### THE SHAWNEE SMOKE THE CALUMET

On Friday, Aug. 7, Wayne proceeded to take up the unfinished business, and opened the council by saying: "Brothers, all nations now present! You have all smoked out of this calumet, when we first opened council at this place, except the Shawanese. I will, therefore, smoke with the Shawanese and with some of the Wyandots who arrived late.

"Listen, all you sachems, chiefs and warriors! Lift up your eyes and behold these instruments of writing to which the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottawas, Chippeways, Pottawattamies, Miamis, Eel Rivers, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias have set their hands and seals, that they may be handed down to your children's children as a memorial of the happy peace thereby established. When your posterity shall hereafter view these records, they will be informed that you were the great people that accomplished this blessed work to insure to them peace and happiness forever.

"One of these I shall transmit to General Washington; the others I shall agree to your desires with your uncles, the Wyandots. A true copy, on paper, shall now be given to each nation. This large belt and this seal will accompany the original instrument, and will declare its sacred and important value.

"The next business will be the distribution of the goods and presents promised by treaty. Tomorrow the Wyandots shall receive their proportion; the other nations will be sent for in order, as they signed, as soon as we are ready to deliver them. It will make no difference to any who is first served, or who last; all shall have their due proportion. I have only to recommend a just and equal distribution among your respective nations.

### SPECIAL PRESENTS GIVEN

"Independent of this general delivery, and as a reward for the good disposition to peace of some chiefs and nearly early evinced, I shall make some further presents, which must be considered as private property to those who shall receive them, and as testimonies of particular regard. In return for the generous and unasked for present of the Chippeways of the Isle de Bois Blanc the Fifteen Fires will make them an acknowledgment to show that they will never be outdone in kindness.

### "OUR FATHER"

Tar-he, apparently under a spell of sentiment, stirred by the success of the Americans in bringing about such a successful peace, now proposed to the assembled Indians that they cease to address the Fifteen Fires as brother, and hereafter call them father. In a burst of eloquence he now addressed General Wayne in this manner:

"Father! You see we all now acknowledge you to be our father. I take you by the hand, which I offer as a pledge of our sincerity, and of our happiness, in becoming your children.

"Father! Listen to your children here assembled; be strong now, and take care of all your little ones. See what number you have suddenly acquired. Be careful of them and do not suffer them to be imposed upon. Don't show favor to one to the injury of any. An impartial father equally regards all his children; as well those who are ordinary, as those who are more handsome; therefore, should any of your children come to you crying and in distress, have pity on them and relieve their wants.

"Now all my brothers present, you see that we have acknowledged and called on the United States as our father. Be strong, brothers, and obedient to our father; ever listen to him when he speaks to you, and follow his advice. I now deliver this wampum, in presence of you all, as a token of our being now, the children of the Fifteen Fires." (A large string, blue and white.)

Evidently moved by this fine expression of brotherly affection, Wayne had Tar-he's speech interpreted to each nation and then said:

"Listen, all you nations present. I have hitherto addressed you as brothers; I now adopt you all, in the name of the President and Fifteen Great Fires of America, as their children, and you are so accordingly. The medals which I shall have the honor to deliver to you, you will consider as presented by the hands of your father, the Fifteen Fires of America. These you will hand down to your children's children, in commemoration of this day—a day in which the United States of America gives peace to you and all your nations, and receives you and them under the protecting wing of her eagle."

## UNDER THE EAGLE'S WINGS

To what extent this fine pledge to the original Americans has been kept may be judged by our treatment of them since Wayne spoke in the Council-house at Greene Ville. After over a century and a half of blundering and exploitation, during which the Indian has been robbed and cheated, and mercilessly driven farther and farther west, until he is now restricted to relatively small and undesirable tracts of land, we have been aroused finally to our obligations and have started on a sane and reasonable program of rehabilitation, based on scientific principles of conservation. The frontiersmen, who attempted to drive the Indians from their ancient hunting grounds and villages, and, consequently, aroused the lurking savage instincts in them, originated the old slogan: "There is no good Indian but a dead Indian," and the pioneers perpetuated this cruel and unjust verdict, until the Indian was greatly reduced in numbers and morale and threatened with assimilation or early extinction. Anglo-Saxon greed, hatred, ignorance, disease and political chicanery had nearly succeeded in blotting his name from the map of North

### GREENVILLE TREATY MEDAL



Obverse



Reverse

America, when the first World War broke out and gave him an excellent opportunity to demonstrate his virility, courage, loyalty, intelligence, and other fine qualities, which resulted in a strong reaction in his favor. Upon the foundation laid by Christian missionaries, Quaker philanthropists, conscientious agents, and friendly groups of interested citizens, the general public was finally aroused to make an intelligent and determined effort to investigate the causes of his deterioration. For the first time he was granted the privilege of the ballot; his land holdings were protected; his health conserved; his peculiar capacities and endowments appraised; scientific educational methods applied to his education; and his morale, consequently, strengthened.

The census of 1920 indicated that his numbers had decreased to about a quarter of a million, from an original population of variously estimated from



half a million to a million. The census of 1930 indicated that his numbers had increased to 332,397—including all persons of mixed white and Indian blood not regarded as white.

While there is a margin of inaccuracy in all such tabulations it is generally believed that the Indian is now increasing in numbers and health and has a much more promising future assured him.

The medals given to the chiefs who signed the treaty were oval in shape, about four inches long. On the obverse side was shown an Indian just emerging from the forest, throwing down his tomahawk, and reaching for the peace-pipe extended to him by a white man, while oxen were plowing in the background. Below was the inscription—George Washington, President, 1795. On the reverse side was the American eagle, with spread wings, holding the olive branch and sheaf of arrows in his talons, with all the other details of the accepted American emblem. One of these medals is shown by the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in Philadelphia, and another is on exhibition in a museum in Kansas City, while others may still be treasured by custodians of the participating tribes.

## SIX CHIEFS ORATE

The morning of August 8, it seems was destined to give various chiefs an ideal opportunity to demonstrate their oratorical powers. The main business of the council having been concluded, and the time of their departure drawing near, the Indians relaxed into a mellower mood and six of their prominent chiefs took advantage of the occasion to express their feelings and make known their opinions.

New Corn, an aged and very talkative chief, then made an interesting speech saying: "My friend, when I first came here, I took you by the hand. You welcomed me, and asked me for my great war chiefs. I told you they were killed, and that none remained but me, who have the vanity to think myself a brave man and a great warrior. The Great Spirit has made me a great chief, and endowed me with great powers. The heavens and earth are my heart, the rising sun my mouth, and thus favored, I propagate my own species. I know the people who have made and violated former treaties. I am too honorable and too brave a man to be guilty of such conduct. I love and fear the Great Spirit. He now hears what I say. I dare not tell a lie.

"Now, my friend, the Great Wind, do not deceive us in the manner that the French, the British, and the Spaniards have heretofore done. The English have abused us much; they have made us promises which they never fulfilled; they have proved to us how little they have ever had our happiness at heart; and we have severely suffered, for placing our dependence on so faithless a people. Be you strong, and preserve your word inviolate; and reward those Frenchmen who have come so great a distance to assist us. My friend, I am old, but I shall never die; I shall always live in my children, and children's children." (A string.)

## MEDALS DISTRIBUTED

The afternoon of August 8 was devoted largely to the delivery of the medals, silver ornaments, etc., the expression of gratitude and complimentary conversation on the eve of departure.

## THE COUNCIL FIRE BURNS OUT

The main business of the council having been completed, the final meeting was held on Monday, August 10, just one week after the formal signing of the treaty, to dispose of all unfinished matters and adjourn sine die. On

•  
behalf of the Shawanese, who arrived late and were the last to sign the articles, Chief Red Pole arose and said: "You, my uncles, the Wyandots; my grandfathers, the Delawares, and all you nations present; you see we are now here from all parts of this great island. You happily accomplished the good work before we the Shawanese arrived. I thank you all for it. I now present to your view the wampum given to me by your elder brother, now become our father. He gave it to us from his heart, and I hope you will, for the future, view him as our true father. We must for the future live in harmony with him and one another. The Great Spirit gave us this land in common; he has not given the right to any one nation to say to another, this land is not yours, it belongs to me.

"Father! I have heard everything which has been here transacted. Peace is firmly established. It affords me satisfaction and happiness that the hatchet is cast away forever. I have reason to believe that the mischief which has been lately done, has been committed by a small party of Shawanese, who have been in the woods a long time hunting. It grieves us much, that while we are here, accomplishing the good work of peace, some of our own people are yet deaf to our advice.

### GENERAL WAYNE SAYS FAREWELL

In answer to the various problems presented, and in order to bid all of the nations an affectionate farewell, General Wayne now arose and said:

"Children, all you nations, listen! By the seventh article of this treaty, all the lands now ceded to the United States are free for all the tribes now present, to hunt upon, so long as they continue to be peaceable, and do no injury to the people thereof. It is, therefore, the common interest of you all, to prevent any mischief being done upon those hunting grounds. Those people who have committed the late outrage, on our peaceable inhabitants, had been hunting on those grounds, and, after finishing their hunt, proceeded to the commission of the bad actions of which I have complained. These practices, for the reasons I have already given you, must have an immediate end.

"The Red Pole has behaved like a candid, honest man, in acknowledging the errors of his people, and in promising to restrain them immediately. He has done more, he has offered to leave his own father, as a hostage, until he can inform me of his having called them home. But I will not separate him from his old father; I will depend upon his honor, for the performance of his promise." (A white string to the Red Pole.)

"All you, my children, listen to me! The great business of peace so long and ardently wished for by your great and good father, General Washington, and the Fifteen Fires, and I am sure, by every good man among you, being now accomplished, nothing remains but to give you a few words of advice from a father, anxious for the peace and happiness of his children.

"Let me earnestly exhort you to restrain your young people from injuring, in any degree, the people of the United States. Impress upon their minds the spirit and meaning of the treaty now before us. Convince them how much their future welfare will depend upon their faithful and strict observance of it. Restore to me, as soon as possible, all my flesh and blood which may be among you, without distinction or exception, and receive now from my hands, the ten hostages stipulated by the second article to be left with me, as a security for their delivery. This unequivocal proof of the confidence that I place in your honor, and in the solemn promises you have made me, must satisfy you of my full persuasion of your sincerity. Send those ten young men to collect your prisoners; let them bring them to me, and they



shall be well rewarded for their trouble. I have here particular account of the number remaining among you, and shall know when they are all restored.

"I now fervently pray to the Great Spirit, that the peace now established may be permanent; and that it may hold us together in the bonds of friendship, until time shall be no more. I also pray that the Great Spirit above may enlighten your minds and open your eyes to your true happiness, that your children may learn to cultivate the earth and enjoy the fruits of peace and industry. (A white string.)

"As it is probable, my children, that we shall not soon meet again in public council, I take this opportunity of bidding you all an affectionate farewell, and of wishing you a safe and happy return to your respective homes and families." (A string.)

Bu-kon-ge-he-las, who had taken a prominent part in the defeat of St. Clair, in 1791, and had continued hostile to the Americans, now arose and said:

"Father! Your children all well understand the sense of the treaty which is now concluded. We experience, daily, proofs of your increasing kindness. I hope we may all have sense enough to enjoy our dawning happiness. Many of your people are yet among us; I trust they will be immediately restored. Last winter our king came forward to you, with two, and when he returned with your speech to us, we immediately prepared to come forward with the remainder. All who know me to be a man and a warrior; and I now declare that I will, for the future, be as strong and steady as a friend to the United States as I have heretofore been an active enemy. We have one bad young man among us who, a few days ago, stole three of your horses. Two of them shall this day be returned to you, and I hope I shall be able to prevent that young man from doing any more mischief to our father, the Fifteen Fires."

Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish then followed, saying: "Father! I have heard, and understood, all that you have said. I am perfectly satisfied with every part of it; my heart will never change. No prisoners remain in our hands, in the neighborhood of Machilimackinac. Those two French men present (Messieurs Sans Crainte and Pepin) can witness to the truth of this assertion."

It was now left to Massas, a Chippeway Chief, to make the last formal speech before the council, which had been in session nearly two months, when he arose and said: "I have heard all the proceedings, relating to this treaty. I express my perfect satisfaction at its happy conclusion. When I relate at home the important event, my people will stretch out their arms towards you, and when I shall have informed them that you have promised to cherish them as your children, they will rejoice at having acquired a new and so good a father."

### THE LITTLE TURTLE EXPLAINS

Upon the eve of the departure of the Wabash tribes The Little Turtle took occasion to explain his apparently hostile attitude, at times, during the peace negotiations, stating that it was due partly to his ignorance of the liberal attitude of the Americans and partly from the desire to protect the interests of his people, that he had spoken so freely.

He assured William that his people now thoroughly understood the articles of the treaty, were convinced of its wisdom and liberality, and were determined to be faithful to its provisions. As special favors he asked that certain designated licensed traders be located in their villages; that a fort be erected at Ouiatanon (near Lafayette, Ind.); that he be permitted to live at his old home, near Fort Wayne, and that William Wells, his son-in-law,



and tried friend of his people, be placed at Fort Wayne, as resident interpreter. Most, if not all, of these requests were later complied with and Little Turtle remained a friend of the new government until his death.

## THE TRIBES DEPART

After the treaty the tribes returned in bands to their villages, the remoter northern groups departing first. The nearer tribes, notably the Delawares and Shawanese, seemed in no hurry to disband as long as food and drink were served from the commissary department, and they finally departed with reluctance from their camp sites on the knolls along the creek, under the guns of the frowning fort, where they had made many new contacts and enjoyed an unusual summer outing. One band of Shawanese left on August 15, probably for Detroit or the lake region; some of the Eel river tribe were still here on August 26. The departure of delegations of Wyandots and Ottawas is noted on August 12, these probably returning to the neighborhood of Sandusky, Detroit and the far north. As late as September 30, an order was issued for twenty pounds of flour and beef for the Shawanese and Delawares, and in October the sick Shawanese still remain. When the Indians were finally removed from Ohio to their western homes, in 1832, they were allowed to camp on the site of "Tecumseh's Point," between the creeks, to say a last farewell to a place they loved, and when some representative came from the reservation near Piqua, to attend the second treaty, in the summer of 1814, they camped along the creek, probably on the site of the old cemetery. It is also probable that some preferred to camp across the creek, on the present site of the cemetery, the north end division, the City park and environs.

## SIGNERS OF THE TREATY

The number of Indians credited with being present during the treaty negotiations is given as 1130. This probably included the women and children. Those assigned to the various tribes is as follows: (the figures following the dash being the number of signers) Delawares, 381—17; Pottawattamies, 240—24; Wyandots, 180—10; Shawanese, 143—9; Miamis, with related and affiliated tribes, 95—12; Chippewas, 46—11; Ottawas, 45—7.

Considering the length and dignity of the negotiations, the number of intelligent and influential chiefs taking part, the high character of the speeches, permanent and far reaching effect of the pact, besides the intrinsic value of the tracts of land ceded, it is doubtful whether any other Indian treaty, during the entire period of their contact and relations with the Anglo-Saxon invaders was as important as this one. It is said that the chiefs who signed this treaty remained faithful to the end of their lives. Among the younger tribal leaders some chiefs, as Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, who took no part in the treaty aligned themselves with the British, in Canada, during the War of 1812, in order to retaliate for some grievances against the Americans, who had foiled them, in their attempt to form a powerful confederation with hostile intent.

The text of the treaty was written in the fine and legible script of the day on two pieces of parchment about twenty-six inches square, and forwarded to Philadelphia, where it was ratified and signed by President Washington on December 22, 1795. It is probable that quill pen was used, and that it was touched by the Indians when the scribe recorded their names.

## INDIAN TOTEM SIGNATURES

The treaty document is on file in the archives of the state department in Washington, D. C., where it is carefully preserved. A photographic copy is exhibited in the public museum in Greenville, Ohio.

Besides Anthony Wayne and 80 Indian chiefs and agents, the following persons signed the treaty document:

Henry De Butts, Aid de Camp and secretary to Maj. Gen. Wayne.

Wm. H. Harrison, A. D. C. to Wayne (later President of the U. S.)

T. Lewis, A. D. C. to Wayne (brother of Merriwether Lewis, the explorer).

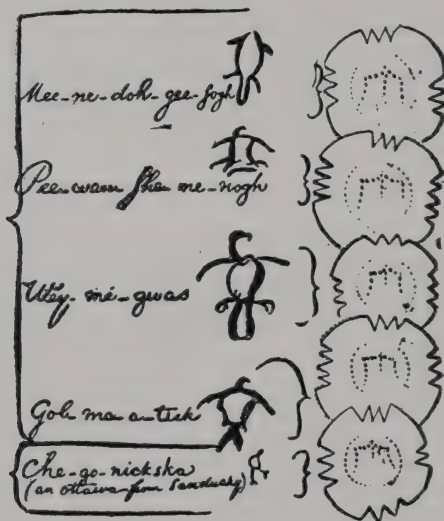
James O'Hara, quarter master general.

John Mills, Major of Infantry and Adjutant General (died in July, 1796, and was buried in Greene Ville).

Caleb Swan, Paymaster T. U. S.

George Demler, Lieut. Artillery, U. S. A.

Following these names of the official corps of the Americans, come the names of the Frenchmen: P. Frs. Lafontaine, Ant. Lasselle, H. Lasselle, Jn. Beau Bien (?), David Jones, Chaplain of the U. S. Legion; Lewis Beufait, R. Lachambre, F. Pepin, Baties Coutien and P. Navarre. Under one bracket



INDIAN TOTEM SIGNATURES

appears the names of William Wells, Jacques Lasalle, M. Morins, Bt. Sans Crainte, Christopher Miller, Robert Willson, Abraham Williams and Isaac Zane, most of whom have been mentioned as agents for the various tribes, or interpreters.

## DIGEST OF THE TREATY

Preamble: "To put an end to a destructive war, to settle all controversies, and to restore harmony and friendly intercourse between the said United States and Indian tribes, Anthony Wayne, major general, commanding the army of the United States, and sole commissioner for the good purposes above mentioned, and the said tribes of Indians, by their sachems, chiefs, and warriors, met together at Greene Ville, the headquarters of said army, have agreed on the following articles, which when ratified by the president, with

the advice and consent of the senate of the United States, shall be binding on them and said Indian tribes.

Art. 1. Henceforth all hostilities shall cease; peace is hereby established, and shall be perpetual; and a friendly intercourse shall take place between the said United States and Indian tribes.

Art. 2. All prisoners shall, on both sides, be restored. The Indians, prisoners of the United States, shall be immediately set at liberty. The people of the United States, still remaining prisoners among the Indians, shall be delivered up in ninety days from the date hereof, to the general or

*J. De Butte*  
*first a. d. c. & Secy to M. G. Wayne*  
*Wm A. Harrison*  
*aid de camp to M. G. Wayne*  
*V. Lewis aid de camp*  
*to M. G. Wayne*  
*James O'Hara*  
*Quarter Master Gen.*  
*John Mills Major of Infantry*  
*Caleb Swan Esq. M. T. S.*  
*Geor. L. Lieut. Col. 11th Regt*  
*U. S. A.*  
*A. S. in la for for ne*  
*Grant Lasselle*  
*H. Lasselle*  
*Wm. M. Mearns*

American Signers of the Treaty.

commanding officer at Greene Ville, Fort Wayne, or Fort Defiance; and ten chiefs of the said tribes shall remain at Greene Ville as hostages, until the delivery of the prisoners shall be effected.

Art. 3. This article described the general boundary line, between the lands of the United States and the northwestern tribes, as beginning at the mouth of the Cuyahoga river (Cleveland, Ohio); thence up that river to the



portage, between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum (through Akron, O.); thence down the Tuscarawas to the crossing place above Fort Laurens (near Bolivar, O.); thence in a southwesterly direction to the southern end of the portage leading from Loramies to Girty's Town (St. Marys, O.); thence northwesterly to Fort Recovery; thence southwesterly to a point on the Ohio river opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river (near Vevay, Ind.). In consideration of the peace established, the goods formerly received, and those to be immediately delivered, the yearly delivery of goods, stipulated to be delivered hereafter, and to idemnify the United States for injuries and expenses sustained during the recent Indian war, the tribes ceded and relinquished forever, all their claims to the lands lying eastwardly and southwardly of the general boundary line heretofore delineated and described.

As a further act of confidence and friendship, and in order to provide for that convenient intercourse, which will be beneficial to both parties, the Indians also ceded the following smaller and isolated, but invaluable tracts, to the north and west of the line—

1. One piece six miles square, at or near Loramie's Store (Fort Loramie, O.)
2. One piece two miles square, at the head of the navigable water or landing, on the St. Mary's river (St. Marys, O.).
3. One piece six miles square at the head of the navigable water of the Auglaize river (between St. Marys and Lima, O.).
4. One piece six miles square at the confluence of the Auglaize and Maumee rivers (Defiance, O.).
5. One piece six miles square at the confluence of the St. Joseph's and St. Mary's rivers (Fort Wayne, Ind.).
6. One piece two miles square, on the Wabash river, at the end of the portage from the Maumee, about eight miles west of Fort Wayne.
7. One piece six miles square at Ouiatanon, or old Wea town, on the Wabash river (near Lafayette, Ind.).
8. One piece twelve miles square, at the British fort on the Maumee, at the foot of the Rapids (Ft. Miami).
9. One piece six miles square at the mouth of the Maumee, where it empties into Lake Erie (Toledo, O.).
10. One piece six miles square upon Sandusky Lake, where a fort formerly stood (Sandusky, O.).
11. One piece two miles square at the lower rapids of the Sandusky river (Fremont, O.).
12. The post of Detroit, and all the lands to the north, the west and south of it, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments, and so much more land to be annexed to the district of Detroit, as shall be comprehended between the river Rosine, on the south, Lake St. Clair on the north, and a line, the general course whereof shall be six miles distant from the west end of Lake Erie and the Detroit river.
13. The post and island of Michillimackinac, and portions of the mainland adjacent thereto, also a piece on the mainland to the north to measure six miles on Lake Huron, or the Strait; also the Isle de Bois Blanc, the latter being an extra and voluntary gift of the Chippeway nation.
14. One piece six miles square at the mouth of the Chicago river on Lake Michigan (heart of Chicago, Ill.).
15. One piece twelve miles square at, or near, the mouth of the Illinois river.
16. One piece six miles square at the old Piorias fort and village, near the south end of Lake Michigan, on the Illinois river (Joliet, Ill.).

Provision was also made for free passage between the chain of posts mentioned. The importance of Fort Loramie as the center of a system of trails to St. Mary's, and down the St. Marys river to Fort Wayne; to the head of the Auglaize river and down that stream to Fort Defiance; to the Sandusky river and down that stream to Sandusky and on to Lake Erie and Detroit; from Chicago, by way of the Illinois river to the Mississippi; from Fort Wayne by portage to the Wabash, and on to the Ohio river. Free use was also granted of the harbors and mouths of rivers along Lake Erie, and other lakes adjoining the Indian lands, for sheltering vessels and landing cargoes.

Art. 4. Section 1: The United States relinquished their claims to all the Indian lands included between the Lakes, the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, except: (1), the tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres, near the Rapids of the Ohio, which had been assigned to Gen. G. R. Clark, for the use of himself and his soldiers; (2), the post of St. Vincent (Vincennes, Ind.), on the Wabash, and the lands adjacent, of which the Indian title had been extinguished; (3), the lands at all other places in possession of the French people, and other white settlers among them, of which the Indian title had been extinguished, as mentioned in the third article; (4), the post of Fort Massac, towards the mouth of the Ohio river.

Section 2: Twenty thousand dollars worth of valuable goods, which are delivered by the United States at once to the participating tribes; and nine thousand and five hundred dollars worth of goods, which are to be delivered yearly, forever, the stronger tribes receiving one thousand dollars each, and the sub-tribes half that amount.

Art. 5 defines "relinquishment of lands," referred to in Art. 4, to mean that "the Indian tribes who have a right to these, are to quietly enjoy them, hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon, so long as they please, without molestation from the United States; but when these tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States; and until such sale, the United States will protect all the said tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands, against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who intrude upon the same. And the said Indian tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the said United States, and no other power whatever."

Art. 6 provides for the prevention of settlement by whites within the lands relinquished to the Indians by the United States, and gives the Indian power to break up, remove and punish such intruders.

Art. 7 grants to the tribes the privilege to hunt within the ceded territory, "without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably and offer no injury to the people of the United States.

Art. 8 provides for the licensing of traders, and the proper regulation of trade between the Indians and the Americans, "to the end that the said Indians may not be imposed on in their trade."

Art. 9 provides for the punishment of individuals, on the part of either contracting party, who may misconduct themselves, by just and proper means, and pledges notification of any secret warlike plans or intentions.

Art. 10 nullifies all other treaties.

## A TRIBUTE TO THE SIGNERS

After the lapse of a century and a half it is difficult to assemble the scattered references to the mighty sachems, chiefs, and warriors who took part in the deliberations and to form an adequate estimate of their characters. No doubt the redmen who sat in dignified silence around the council fire at Greene Ville were men of great influence in their respective tribes and nations, who had been chosen because of their exceptional ability and



experience. Reference has been made to a few who played a conspicuous part as spokesmen on account of their oratorical talent, but there were, no doubt, many wise and trusted men who were satisfied to deliberate with and advise those who did the speaking. There can be no doubt that several weeks of intimate contact with Wayne and the Americans exercised a powerful influence on some of the Indians who had formerly been hostile in their attitude. As noted, the Little Turtle belonged to this class, but after the treaty, he manifested a friendly feeling and continued faithful to the terms of the pact which he had signed. Among other things, he brought influence and pressure on his people to reform their more brutish customs, especially in the treatment of prisoners, abolishing the rites of human sacrifice, discouraging drinking and immorality, and introducing health measures. Realizing the great toll taken by smallpox among his tribesmen he introduced vaccination. He also secured horses and agricultural implements and encouraged progressive farming among his people. On his various visits to Washington he contacted high government officials and manifested a keen and intelligent curiosity concerning the improvements of civilization. Believing that the best interests of his people lay in maintaining peace with the Americans he resisted the wiles of Tecumseh and the Prophet who were trying to form a powerful confederation of the various tribes to resist the whites in their invasion of the country north of the Ohio. He died at Fort Wayne on July 14, 1812, and was given a burial fitting to a renowned warrior.

### TAR-HE, THE CRANE

Reference has been made to the ability and high ideals of this great chief. Rev. James B. Finley, the celebrated Methodist missionary to the Wyandots of the Sandusky reservation, who was intimately acquainted with the Indians of this region, says of Tar-he: "Among the great chiefs of the Northwest, there was none greater than Tar-he, or the Crane. He was head chief of the Wyandot nation, and he belonged to the Porcupine tribe. He was always cool, deliberate, and firm. His wisdom in council, as well as his bravery in war, gave him great influence among all the neighboring tribes. He was tall in person, well made, and his very countenance was well marked by the great virtues for which he was distinguished through a long and honorable life. All who knew him, whether white or red, deeply venerated his character. He was affable and courteous, kind and affectionate in his feelings, stern and unyielding in his integrity. As a warrior, he was among the bravest of the brave; but, Indian as he was, no strain of cruelty, barbarity, or injustice rests upon his character."

At the commencement of the War of 1812, he was called to a council held by a British Canadian officer at Brownstown, Michigan. After hearing the flattering promises made by that officer, Tar-he arose and said: "We have no confidence in King George. He is always quarreling with his white children in this country. He sends his armies over the great water, in their big canoes, and then he gets his Indian friends there to join with him to conquer his children, and promises if they will fight for him, he will do great things for them. So he promised, if we would fight Wayne and if he whipped us, he would open the gates of his fort, on the Maumee, and let us in, and open his big guns on our enemies; but when we were whipped and the flower of our nation were killed, we fled to this place, but instead of opening the gates, and letting us in, you shut yourselves up in your ground hog hole, and kept out of sight, while my warriors were killed at your gates. We have no confidence in any promise you make. When the Americans scratch your backs with their war clubs you jump into your big canoes, and run home, and leave the poor Indians to fight it out, or make peace with them, the best they may." He stated further, "This is my land and country; go home to your own land, and tell your countrymen that Tar-he and his warriors are ready, and that they are the friends of the Americans."



## BLACK HOOF

Concerning this great chief, who was one of the signers of the Treaty of Greene Ville, a writer of Indian lore said: "He was known far and wide as the great Shawanee warrior, whose cunning and sagacity and experience were only equaled by the fierce and desperate bravery with which he carried into desperation his military plans. Like the other Shawanee chiefs, he was the inveterate foe of the white man and held that no peace would be made nor any negotiation attempted except on the condition that the whites should repossess the mountains and leave the great plains of the west to the sole occupancy of the native tribes.

But although a stern and uncompromising opposition to the whites had marked his policy through a period of forty years and nerved his arm in a hundred battles, he became, at length, convinced of the madness of an uneffectual struggle against a vastly superior and hourly increasing foe. No sooner had he satisfied himself of this truth, than he acted upon it with the decision which formed a prominent trait in his character. The temporary success of the Indians in several engagements previous to the campaign of General Wayne had kept alive their expiring hopes; but their signal defeat by that gallant officer, convinced the more reflecting of their leaders of the desperate character of the conflict. Black Hoof was among those who decided upon making terms with the victorious American commander; and, having signed the treaty of 1795, at Greenville, he continued faithful to its stipulations during the remainder of his life. From that day he ceased to be the enemy of the white man; and as he was not one who could act a negative part, he became the firm ally and friend of those against whom his tomahawk had been so long raised in vindictive animosity."

Concerning this warrior Finley said: "Black Hoof was much in advance of his race in his notions of civilization, and in his humane views. He was sprightly and agreeable in conversation and cheerful in disposition. He exerted his great influence to mitigate the barbarities practiced upon prisoners by the Indians, and especially opposed the burning of them. His sober judgment also clearly perceived the evil of polygamy; and he not only endeavored to do it away, but gave to his followers a practical example; for he lived forty years with one wife by whom he had a large family of children. During the last war with England (1812) he remained the firm friend of the United States, resisting all the temptations of the emissaries of England, as well as all the efforts of Tecumseh . . . Black Hoof retained much of his mental and bodily vigor, and his eyesight was unimpaired at the period of his death, which occurred in 1831, at Waupaukinetta, at the age of one hundred and ten years. To the last he was held in the highest respect by his people, and greatly lamented at his death."

## LEATHER LIPS—(SHA-TEY-YA-RON-YAH)

One of the noted chiefs who signed the treaty was Leather Lips, a Wyandot, who became a firm friend of the Americans and eventually lost his life because of this friendship. Like Tar-he, he became a "marked man" appointed for death by the Prophet and his followers. It seems that the favorite method of this clique, when persuasion and threat had failed, was to accuse their prospective victim of witchcraft, hold a mock trial, pronounce him guilty, and execute him without recourse. There is a tradition that Blue Jacket, who lived at Prophetstown on the old Bryson farm south of the present site of Baird's Lake, was executed in this manner through the jealousy of Tecumseh, who feared the result of his friendly attitude towards the white pioneers, who were rapidly settling north of the Ohio.

The technique of these witchcraft trials reminds one forcefully of the methods employed by the German Fuehrer in ridding his country of his

opponents. In the case of Leather Lips it seems that he preferred to live on the Scioto in close touch with the Americans, while part of his tribe lived near Detroit, under the influence of the British agents. The story handed down is that six Wyandots headed by Chief Roundhead came to the old man's camp about twelve miles north of the present site of Columbus, Ohio, where they accused him of witchcraft, held a long and bitter council, reaffirmed the previously passed sentence of death, brutally killed him with a tomahawk and buried his remains in a shallow grave. The site of this tragedy has been purchased by the Wyandot Club of Columbus, Ohio, which erected a beautiful Scotch granite monument in his memory in 1888.

The knowledge of much that pertains to Indian life, at the time of their early contact with the invading Anglo-Saxon whites, has been almost obliterated in the unfortunate struggle for conquest and dispossession and it behooves us, as their former aggressors, to study and, if possible, to restore all that was fine and worthy in their customs and practices. We have been inclined to regard them as brutal, stoical and unresponsive, but are now discovering that they withheld their finer traits from us on account of our own thoughtless, determined and ruthless ways in the past; but we now believe that they can, and will, eventually reveal many traits that are worthy of adoption by us and will thereby enlarge and enrich both their lives and ours. Our growing appreciation of nature and out-of-door life may well be attributed to our contact with them, and every park and reservation of forest or other lands, testifies that we are recovering some of the things that we had all but lost.

The reservation Indians have proved to be some of our best soldiers in the European conflicts and are making an enviable record in railway construction and maintenance and as guides and caretakers in our national parks.

THE END







